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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Ministers Discuss Penal Code, Hydro-Energy

AU2903120890 Tirana ATA in English 0731 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 29 (ATA)—The Council of Ministers convened on March 28 before noon under the Presidency of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani.

This meeting discussed at length on the projects of juridical acts in the context of implementing the decision of the 9th plenum of the party Central Committee, which laid the task of improving our socialist legislation in compliance with the uplift of the cultural level of the working people, of their consciousness and judicial education as well as to better reflect our socialist democracy.

Following the proceedings of this meeting we learned that the Council of Ministers immediately began the work to draft, discuss, and present in time some of the main draft-laws, such as that "On some changes to the penal code of the PSRA" [People's Socialist Republic of Albania], "On the creation of the Ministry of Justice," "On the advocate in the PSRA," "On defining courts of villages, cities, and city-quarters as social organisms," etc.

Following the drafting of the draft-laws in the context of implementing the program worked out by the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers, a vast debate took place in the center and base in some districts of the country, a broad mass of working people, deputies, cadres of the party and power, social activists, members of the people's councils, etc., taking part in it.

At the meeting of the Council of Ministers, members of the government and guests discussed on these draft-laws, made suggestions, and aired their opinions on maintaining the socialist judicial order and the citizens' rights. In the report on some changes to the penal code of the PSRA, there were treated of some problems as "The creation of the institution of rehabilitation and untimely conditioned release." All these, it was stressed at the meeting, serve the further democratization of our socialist legislation as instructed by the 9th plenum of the party Central Committee. Regarding the creation of the Ministry of Justice, it was stressed that it should take care of the organization and functioning properly of courts, advocacy, and investigator's office. The creation of advocacy, it was pointed out at this meeting, intends not only to help the citizens, the state organs, social organizations for protecting their legitimate rights, in the court, investigator's office, administration, etc., but will also influence in granting justice raising the level of work from qualitative point of view.

Likewise, through some changes to the Labor Code, the ministers voiced their views regarding its further improvement in compliance with the socioeconomic stage of the country.

To this end all respective decisions were adopted, which will be presented for approval to the coming session of the People's Assembly, as decided by the 9th plenum of the party Central Committee.

A special problem discussed at the meeting of the Council of Ministers was the one of the hydro-energetic state and measures that should be adopted to cope with it in the circumstances of the extraordinary drought of this year. In the report submitted by Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, minister of industry, mining and energy, after laying the stress on the situation of energy resources and reserves at present, which have been reduced to minimum, he put forth some immediate measures that should be adopted under these conditions to cope with this situation.

The chairmen of the executive committees of the districts' people's councils spoke at the meeting. They laid the stress on the fact that the implementation of the decision of the Council of Ministers will certainly make it possible to overcome this situation.

After speaking of the important decision adopted by the Council of Ministers to cope with the grave hydro-energetic situation, Comrade Adil Carcani said that by decision on the instruction of the party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers has adopted and will adopt measures that electric energy be used economically. Immediate duty remains to find out ways that with the set quota to fulfill the planned tasks. Comrade Adil Carcani spoke also on the roads and possibilities and reserves existing to spare electric power.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 24-30 Mar

AU3103144590

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 24-30 March reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders:

Prokop Murra, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee Politburo member and minister of people's defense, and Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chief of the general staff, attended a ceremony to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the "Skenderbeg" Secondary Military School for noncommissioned officers in Tirana on 28 March.

Further on National Assembly Actions

AU0304074090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] The 16th session of the Ninth National Assembly continues its work. The people's deputies are discussing the draft laws on amendments and addenda to the Constitution, on electing the Grand National Assembly, and on the political parties and agreements that have been signed by the roundtable participants. The people's deputies debated the issue of financing the political parties from abroad. All deputies who took the floor opposed such financing, and the issue was directed to the Legislative Commission for further discussion. Representatives of the Union of Democratic forces took part in the discussion and expressed their position on the issues that were discussed. [words indistinct]

The issue of the prerogatives of the chairman—president—of the republic, as well as other issues, also evoked a heated discussion. [passage indistinct]

Legislative Commission Chairman Vasil Mruchkov reported on the draft law on amendments and addenda to the Constitution. He briefed the people's representatives on the proposals of the Legislative Commission, among them the amending of the first article of the draft law, which describes the People's Republic of Bulgaria as a democratic and rule-of-law state, by adding to the description the words: and a parliamentarian state.

The issue of whether the chairman of the republic can initiate a referendum also provoked debates. Several proposals were voiced on this issue. About the issue of whether the president can dissolve the National Assembly, it was pointed out that he could have such a prerogative only when elected by the people. Because he will now be elected by the National Assembly itself, he cannot have such a prerogative.

Will the president have the right to declare a general or partial mobilization, martial law, and a state of emergency? It was decided that in such cases the president will have to convene the National Assembly. After adopting those amendments, the deputies unanimously adopted the law on amendments and addenda to the Constitution.

Boris Spasov spoke on the second draft law—the draft law on electing the Grand National Assembly. He briefed the National Assembly members on the draft law provisions related to electing the Grand National Assembly on the basis of the two systems—the proportional and majority systems—according to which 400 members of the Grand National Assembly will be elected, 200 by each of the systems. The National Assembly members also discussed the issue of preparing the voters' lists, the ballots, the candidates' list, and the election campaign, confirming the election results, and so forth.

At present the National Assembly members are voting separately on each section of this draft law.

'Grand Constituent Assembly' Approved

AU0304091090 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 3 (BTA)—The National Assembly session continues. The election of a Grand (Constituent) Assembly, after which the forthcoming elections will be held, was approved by the M.P.s [members of parliament] with the few amendments to the version, discussed at a first reading last Friday [30 March].

Election commissions, elected in a most democratic way will be formed to carry elections of M.P.s. They will be led by a 20-member Central Election Commission, representing the political parties participating in the elections. The M.P.s backed the proposal that the Central Election Commission chairman should be a prestigious person and not a member of the Supreme Court, as it was planned in the bill. The deputy-chairman and secretary of the commission will be members of the Supreme Court.

It was specified that the nominees who are not representing some of the political parties are registered according to the way of registering of the political parties. Persons who do not belong to a political party will be able to participate in the elections if their nomination is raised by at least 500 of the electors.

The law regulates strictly the nominees and parties access to the mass media: T.V., radio and the BTA, in the pre-election campaign.

Further on Assembly

AU0304075090 Sofia BTA in English 0724 GMT 3 Apr 90

["National Assembly Dissolves"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, April 3 (BTA)—The Ninth National Assembly terminated today [3 April] its powers, an unprecedented act in Bulgaria's new history.

Before this took place some laws, which are greatly important for Bulgaria's democratization had been adopted. Bulgaria's president was elected. [BTA does not give the new president's name]

It is expected that he will set up the date of the first free and democratic elections in the last 45 years. The national roundtable proposal is that this should take place on June 10 and 17 this year.

The National Assembly adopted the Law for Amendment and Addenda of the Constitution in Bulgaria. The amendments had been proposed by the Legislative Commission and the national roundtable participants. They cannot be postponed due to the dynamic changes in this country after November 10, 1989. Their aim is to provide a constitutional basis for a peaceful transition from a totalitarian system to a democratic society.

Other amendments in the Constitution are needed, too, but the National Assembly has left them for the future Grand (Constituent) Assembly which is to be elected in June and will have the task to work out a new constitution.

Besides the amendments approved last Friday [30 March], today, after the proposal of the Legislative Commission, the text of Article Number 1 was finally edited so as to read: "The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a democratic, parliamentary and law-abiding state."

Some further amendments had been done in order to outline more clearly the process of society's democratization through the increase of the role of local bodies of power: the councils.

A special text in the Constitution regulates the unity and inseparability of the nation and the state, the impossibility to divide it and tear it apart on religious, ethnic or other basis. Political pluralism is fixed as a phenomenon, which is new for Bulgaria and which is already existing in reality and replacing the discredited one party rule.

A text which enables to carry a religious and atheistic propaganda was additionally included. [sentence as received] The new text reads that no censorship is allowed in this country under any occasion or condition. Unemployment is included in the social insurance system.

Mladenov Elected President

AU0304101090 Sofia BTA in English 0925 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Sofia, April 3 (BTA)—Petur Mladenov was elected today president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Mladenov Acceptance Speech

AU0304101490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0907 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Speech by President Petur Mladenov upon election as president at the 16th session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] Dear National Assembly deputies, dear compatriots, ladies and gentlemen: Permit me to express my profound gratitude for the great confidence that the National Assembly places in me by electing me head of state.

Along with this, I would like to express my gratitude to all political forces, to all parties, organizations, and movements that backed my nomination. I accept this comprehensive support as an expression of the entire people's will and desire.

This is a reason for me to assume the responsibility of my new post with confidence. This inspires me with hope that I will be able to successfully fulfill my new obligations.

I consider it my duty, as early as at this stage, to declare that I will accomplish my future activities in full accordance with the responsibilities and functions of the new constitution, such as they are defined in the text of the Constitution that was approved by the national roundtable and adopted by the National Assembly.

I am aware of the great responsibility that I am assuming and of the complexity of the tasks I am facing. Guaranteeing the peaceful transition from totalitarianism to democracy is the most important and most difficult of these tasks.

We all believe in the irreversibility of the renewal processes in which our country is involved. We are convinced that they must by all means be intensified, and we sincerely hope that this will take place in a peaceful, democratic, and civilized manner.

We share the understanding that, more than ever, the achievement of such goals requires peace and security, stability, and national unity. Guided by this understanding, as head of state, I intend to devote all my efforts, I intend to use all my competence and prerogatives for guaranteeing these conditions and prerequisites that are of vital importance for our further development.

However, as far as the problems related to the supreme interests of our nation and state are concerned, my efforts and actions can be fruitful only if they represent an inseparable part of the entire people's common efforts and actions, of the efforts and actions of all Bulgarian citizens.

For this reason, I sincerely hope that during my term of office I will be able to rely on common support and cooperation. As president of the republic, I am guided by the rule that the head of state is one for all citizens, regardless of their political, religious, and other convictions.

In relying on this rule I will expect your reciprocal response.

The tests that are facing us today urgently impose this requirement.

The first test we are facing is the forthcoming elections for the Grand National Assembly. Free and democratic elections are the goal to which we aspire. A great deal depends on the manner in which these elections will be organized and held.

Prerequisites should be created for the people so that they may sincerely and openly express their preferences about our country's future, according to their own intentions and will.

There is no doubt that the forthcoming elections will represent a test of our readiness and capability to conduct a constructive, political dialogue, to implement our own intentions and ambitions for the democratization of our society.

In implementing the mission entrusted to me and within the limit of my competence, I will devote my efforts to the establishment of the conditions required for peaceful and calm elections, which should reflect the real correlation between the political forces in our country and which should most justly guarantee the hopes and expectations of our people.

The second test that we are facing is the reform of the economic system. I will not dwell on details. The causes of the present economic situation are evident. We should not delude ourselves about the requirement for tremendous efforts in overcoming the situation.

After having adopted a number of urgent and specific measures, the government submitted a program on radical economic reform to the National Assembly, which the National Assembly adopted.

The practical measures for the implementation of the reform are the main and decisive prerequisites for its success today. We should not delude ourselves and hope for miracles. We are facing difficult and complicated years, a period full of tense efforts, but there is no other method of salvation. This is a nationwide question. For precisely this reason, it should not only be the government's concern, whatever this government will be. This problem should be the concern and cause of the entire nation. This means that it concerns all political organizations and movements; it should be the cause of everyone who feels as a Bulgarian does and who is concerned about Bulgaria.

It is precisely from this position that I see my responsibility as a head of state in connection with the market orientation of the economic reform.

The third test that faces us is the drafting and adoption of the new Bulgarian constitution. The idea and efforts of the processes of renewal that have engulfed our society are aimed at turning Bulgaria into a democratic state based on the rule of law. The political tendencies that have appeared show that precisely such expectations are preceding the birth of our Constitution.

We need a basic law that will be in harmony with the firm democratic traditions and strivings of the Bulgarian people and, at the same time, will correspond to the modern notions of democracy.

The Bulgarian citizens and nation deserve to live and develop calmly and confidently in their motherland and throughout the great world. We need such a basic law as will guarantee all Bulgarian citizens equal rights and freedoms. Finally, we need such a basic law as, taking account of our specific conditions, will wisely and justly resolve the ethnic issue and be a reliable and enduring support for national unity.

It is my hallowed duty as a Bulgarian citizen and head of state to make my contribution to the drafting and adoption of such a constitution as will guarantee the future of our country as a democratic state based on the rule of law.

Another test we face is the country's ecological situation. The Bulgarian people have serious reason to be alarmed by the increasing danger of an ecological catastrophe. It is well known that in certain regions the ecological situation has reached critical dimensions. The reasons for this situation are well known. We are also aware of the consequences for the people's health and for nature and the environment in general. The ecological problem is not only a humanitarian issue, but an economic, social, and political one as well. From this point of view, it is a state problem of primary importance. As head of state, I will not only sympathize with the people's concern but, in accordance with my possibilities, I will involve myself in the solution of this problem in a prudent and urgent manner.

Esteemed people's representatives, in recent years the world has changed for the better. We greet the positive development of relations between the two most powerful states of our time—the USSR and the United States. The changes that are taking place in our country reveal favorable possibilities for opening Bulgaria toward the world, and more specifically, toward Europe, and for it to join the economic, political, information, and other integration processes that are taking place.

Our country is interested in cooperating to assert the new tendencies in international relations. We must continue our efforts and activate our contacts with international political and economic organizations and institutions, and with individual states as well. As a people and nation we must preserve the historical dimensions of our friendship and cooperation with Russia, the Russian people, and the USSR, by enriching and developing them at a modern level and for the mutual benefit.

Our country must continue to contribute to strengthening bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans in the spirit of the new tendencies in international relations. In this context, we must reassess and develop our relations with states from all parts of the world. At the same time, Bulgaria's foreign policy will continue to be coordinated with the obligations the country has assumed on the basis of the bilateral and multilateral documents it has signed.

In short, this is the platform upon which I will carry out my duties in the foreign policy sphere as president of the country.

In conclusion, I would like to declare again that, for me as head of state, the interests of the Bulgarian people and Bulgaria will stand above all else. Let this be my oath upon assuming this distinguished post you bestow upon me.

Thank you very much! [applause]

Lukanov on Economy

AU2903090190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0730 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Speech by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov at 16th session of Ninth National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] [passage indistinct] These are questions that should be submitted to a thorough analysis from now on. It is, however, impossible to find the right way to overcome the crisis as long as we do not take into consideration its nature, its scope, and its basic phenomena. In order to successfully heal the disease, we must make a correct diagnosis. The phenomena of this crisis are evident, and I will not dwell on them. I would like briefly to pursue part of the reasons for the intensification of these crisis phenomena by limiting myself to the period between 1981-1990.

In the first place: We are obliged to pay dearly for the serious shortcomings and mistakes, for the erroneous orientation and use of investments during the last two five-year planning periods, in particular.

I am not only thinking of the trend for excessive development of the A-group branches, which was prompted by distorted ideas on the country's industrialization.

The period we are talking about plays a particularly important role because within the same years the development of the worldwide technical revolution requested the implementation of a new structural and technological policy. We adopted a general line of promoting modern productions aimed for exports. Certain positive results were really achieved and should not be underestimated. A considerable financial effect was obtained over a few years marked by the increase of heavy industry goods, especially for the Soviet Union.

The problem is that emphasis was laid on productions that, under our specific economic conditions, such as shortage of basic raw materials, shortage of technological equipment, and insufficiently developed (?production capacities), became a heavy burden. The expansion of (word indistinct) goods that were greatly dependent on equipment and materials belonging to the second sector [vtoro napravlenie], in addition to the unrealistic evaluation of the opportunities for (?industrialization) that inevitably led to an exhaustion of the resources for further development.

Over all these years, thanks to the involvement of considerable credits and resources, the expenditures of the national income systematically exceeded the (?revenues).

It is a characteristic fact that the involvement of such credits was not only and not so much related to technological renewal, but rather to imports of raw materials for the purpose of accelerating the production process. This trend affected not only our electronic industry and (?machine-building industry), but also [word indistinct].

As we can see, the failures in our economy are not only due to the unjustified construction of new installations; they are also due to the underestimation of the requirement for modernizing and restructuring our foreign economic relations in the purpose of increasing exports and of restricting the imports of raw materials against [word indistinct].

This process was actually not completed. Despite the daring decisions, the production and the branches, including those that were declared as being of strategic importance, were involved in a crisis. The profitability was reduced, the quality and competetive capacity of our goods were lagging behind.

As a result of this, the technological modernization failed to achieve one of its basic goals—namely, the adjustment of our national economy to the changes and trends of the world market.

This failure is consequently due both both to the subjective trend of achieving a temporary effect as well as to the unwillingness of realizing the truth as it is.

In the second place: The situation of crisis in our economy also appears in the country's general financial situation.

The underestimation of the financial aspect of economic development, which under any normal economy represents the overall criterion for economic success, or failure, was expressed in the increasing number of losing and ineffective productions and enterprises, while their credit debts were increasing at the same time. Last, but not least, under the conditions of total nationalization and centralization, these enterprises relied on state subsidies, assistance, and support.

The investment process turned into a powerful channel for wasting means and for intensifying the inflation pressure. Over the period under review, the construction sector expanded. The efforts of building organizations were wasted on numerous projects. This resulted in the freezing of material, labor, financial, and currency resources worth billions of leva.

The uncommissioned building projects exceeded 14 billion by the end of 1979, while the normal construction capacity for a country of Bulgaria's size should be approximately six-seven billion.

Because of poor management, a major part of the projects under construction did not fulfill credit conditions and thus were directly financed by the state budget up to 1986.

For such construction projects, the budget allocated annual amounts amounting to approximately two billion leva, without creating a special source of income to cover these expenditures.

This made it necessary in 1987 to establish a state credit fund from which 6.7 billion leva were used by the end of 1989.

The policy of forming [word indistinct], the insufficient link between the size of wages and the results obtained also contributed to the deterioration of the economic situation.

In many branches and activities, wages were paid and are still being paid not for accomplished work, but just for the individual being present, for so-called specific conditions, and so forth.

At the same time, the minimal wages and pensions lagged considerably behind, as a result of which part of the situation is obtaining wages below the minimum living standard.

Against this background, the social cynicism of constructing representative buildings is even more striking. Isn't the waste of hundreds million of leva for the construction of residences, committee and council headquarters, and squares, considering the shortage of housing units and schools, considering that hospitals are being built over 10 and more years, considering that representative and public buildings are constructed in places where no senior citizens' homes exist, a manifestation of a deeply distorted economic and social hyprocrisy?

The practice of adopting government decisions for additional expenditures, after the budget and plan were already approved and adopted by the National Assembly, also greatly contributed to the exacerbation of the economic crisis. This was done without providing realistic sources for the covering of such expenditures. A typical example of this is again the expenditures for representative and official events. The traditional annual meetings of the State Council chairman with the diplomatic corps was one such expensive event. Only for the 1988 meeting in Pravets and Botevgrad were the so-called minimal resources for the so-called revitalization of the two towns envisioned. This revitalization cost the budget over 30 million leva, and the same amount was spent by various economic organizations for the purpose.

The use of the budget to maintain an artifical social stability also turned into a strongly destabilizing factor. It was not supported by real resources.

The regime of authoritarian power, especially in recent years, adopted a line of an increasing use of the budget for inappropriate functions. The budget expenditures for subsidies, bonuses, and premiums reached approximately seven billion leva. Their average annual amount recently exceeded the annual revenues of the budget from taxation. The budget was increasingly used for the upkeep of losing enterprises, for the financing of inappropriate activities, and dubious enterprises.

We can say that things became totally absurd in this respect. The budget covered all aspects of national life. Over 85 percent of the total national income was distributed through the state budget. This even more increased the role of bureaucratic structures as redistributing centers. Under such conditions, all intentions of decentralizing and democratizing economic life were brought to the brink of failure.

In accepting ever increasing obligations, which required a redistribution of financial resources, the state, through the budget, inevitably and objectively consolidated the role of the central institutions.

All [word indistinct] processes, the whole commotion raised about them only obfuscated the real economic situation. The greatest absurdity was that instead of contributing to the development of an effective economy, the budget was used to increase profits of enterprises to unacceptably high levels. The resources were taken from those who were working more efficiently in order to support those whose work was poor.

Thus, both on a nationwide scale and, above all, at the level of economic units, the resources of growth were drastically reduced, and even undermined; no means of transferring resources to the most effective structural trends existed. The budget became an instrument of freezing structural proportions, it turned into an obstacle to structural dynamics.

I would like to stress once more: We are talking about a policy that, to begin with, was directed against the economic laws. This policy is hopeless, even if subjectively it were executed in the most competent way possible.

In the fourth place: [number as heard] The critical situation of the economy was complicated by a drastic increase of our foreign debts. This was not the first time in the postwar period that Bulgaria was in a critical situation of this kind. The last time was in the 1956-78 period. At that time, a correct policy of systematic and comprehensive measures for normalizing the balance of payments was adopted. Considerable changes for the better were achieved within a few years. At the beginning of the eighties, Bulgaria was justifiably considered as one of the most stable debtors.

The situation changed in 1984. The foreign debt, amounting to approximately $3 billion by the end of 1984, reached $10.8 billion in 1986.

Which are the factors that brought about this drastic change? Why are we facing a considerable foreign debt and serious difficulties in the currency [word indistinct]?

The basic reason for the deterioration of the currency situation was the arbitrary decisions that were not coordinated with the requirements of objective economic laws and did not take into consideration the country's real possibilities.

The structure of our economy also began to drag us backward. It was adjusted to imports against convertible currency without taking into consideration the need for exporting. The available data show that within the 1981-1989 period, the currency expenditures of convertible currency exceeded $30 billion. The share of expenditures for import of goods represents 60 percent of this amount. It is significant that 73 percent of the commodity imports is represented by imports of raw materials. We are talking about goods worth $14 billion, a considerable part of which was consumed over the period following 1985. The currency expenditures for the machine-building industry, electronics, and electrical engineering were particularly high.

Over the 1986-1989 period, the foreign currency receipts for the electronic branch amounted to $166 million. The currency expenditures for the same branch, however, amounted to $719 million. The receipts of the Industry for Man Association amounted to $240 million, and its expenditures amounted to $779 million over the same period.

We are justified, to a certain extent, in stating that such expenditures were related to the maintainance of the employment rate, to the fulfillment of commitments of the first category (purvo napravlenie), and to the supply of domestic markets. The question is that in this case the increase of expenditures did not take place at the expense of greater payment possibilities, but at the percentage increase of credit debts.

The expenditures also drastically increased due to some exceptional and unpredictable circumstances. Thus, for example, the imports of grain, meat, milk products, and others, aimed at the maintainance and even increase of domestic foodstuff consumption, amounted to approximately $1 billion during the period following 1985. Only within three years, namely from 1987 to 1989, because of the accidents in Devnya and Svishtov, unexpected imports of plastic materials and textile fibers worth approximately $260 billion [number as received] became necessary.

We should also add to this that our exports have been decreasing steadily since 1984. The currency receipts from exports of goods and services exceeded $3 billion at that time. They hardly attained $2 billion in 1989. The reasons are connected with the stagnation of production and also with the imposed [word indistinct] unconditional priority of domestic consumption. This behavior also has its political and social explanation. This is a shortsighted policy, considering the fact that no alternative and more effective sources of currency receipts were envisioned.

The new situation in the Arab countries also affected our currency balances. At the time, we correctly oriented ourselves toward those countries. This trend is valid today. The Arab countries are our natural markets and partners. Bulgaria obtained receipts worth several billion dollars from them. However, we did not succeed in a timely reorganizing of a considerable part of our foreign economic (?activities) and this applies to exports for advanced countries, and to West European countries, in particular.

We cannot fail to add those currency expenditures, for which it is difficult to find a sensible explanation, to the already enumerated reasons. These expenditures do not represent the main part of the shortcomings, but, nevertheless, they considerably contributed to the deterioration of our currency situation.

I am talking about the various so-called maneuvers and breakthroughs, including the investments for oil prospecting in Libya, that were accomplished without serious, advance research. I am talking about the construction of small enterprises on the basis of so-called shock procedures; I am talking about the currency investments for the plants in Radomir, Burgas, and others.

Many of these enterprises in our country and abroad, adopted under the slogan of introducing high technologies, merely represented an adventure.

The most vicious aspect of this system was that the decisions were usually adopted on a political level, without the investors in question assuming the economic responsibility and commitments for exports against hard currency. In the final analysis, under the conditions of centralization of currency resources, the consequences weighed heavily on the national payment balance.

Several discussions in the party and state leadership took place on these issues. On several occasions, the question was raised that we were nearing a dangerous limit; that we were facing a serious crisis in the currency sphere and that decisive measures were required both in connection with intensifying the exports and for a sensible restriction of imports. It was insisted that more glasnost be given to such trends, to encourage social adjustment to specific measures, which though not being popular, would have restricted the increase in our debts. Unfortunately, the opposite trend—namely, the efforts to fill the gaps through increasing debts and to keep up the pretense of a dynamic and effective development—prevailed in the long run.

In the fifth place: Whenever we discuss the reasons for the present crisis, we should not ignore the fate of our agriculture.

The decline of agriculture and of the Bulgarian countryside cannot fail to evoke our bitter feelings and most directly affects every one of us.

The production of basic (?foodstuffs) has decreased. The number of cattle is decreasing, the size of the arable land is diminishing. The ecological indexes of agricultural production are deteriorating. Grain, meat, dairy products, and other products have to be imported.

The reasons are by far not limited to the bad metereological conditions that prevailed over the last years. The main factor for the stagnation of agricultural production, since the beginning of the seventies was the elimination of labor agricultural cooperative farms. In this manner, the command-administrative system definitely prevailed over agriculture. Considering the absence of a market mechanism, under the pressure of the policy aimed at maintaining stable prices for agricultural goods, and under the conditions of increasing prices for basic raw materials and equipment, under the conditions of exacerbating demographic problems, our agriculture found itself in a grave crisis.

From a positive factor that brought convertible currency in the past, our agriculture was turned into a branch that spent such currency. No less grave and destructive were the changes occurring on the social level in the Bulgarian countryside. The crisis of the basic forms of ownership, the people's alienation from the soil, and the shortsighted policy of accelerated urbanization, the forced ideas of developing heavy industry that did not consider our specific national conditions, brought about a systematic exhaustion of our agriculture.

The most important thing, however is: All this resulted in the elimination of Bulgaria's most important sector, which even in those years acted on the basis of more or less healthy economic principles: Namely, the principle of self-support, the principle of real democracy, and the principle of economic (?cost accounting).

The adventure of establishing agro-industrial complexes was one of the most disastrous experiments in our total development. It accelerated the processes of depopulation; it intensified the bureaucratization of economic relations, of relations between the agricultural sector and the other economic branches.

Thus, a crisis was artifically provoked in the cooperative system, whose vital strength over the period up to 1970 could be hardly denied.

In the sixth place, I would like to say a few words on the domestic market situation: It is a well-known fact that even the consumers' market was involved in a critical situation. In recent years, the financial income of the population regularly exceeded the supplies of available goods and services. The difference between the purchasing power of the population and the supply of goods amounted to approximately two billion leva in 1979. In addition to this, the excess money that was not spent by the population, including the saving banks, exceeded 26 billion leva. [sentence as heard] At the same time, a major part of the population exists at or below the minimum subsistence level.

The causes of increasing the monetary pressure over commodities and the reason for the lagging of commodity supplies behind financial resources are several: They include the structural policy that was applied, especially the neglect of the branches producing consumer goods and services, which we already mentioned. They include the insufficient resource provisions, the difficulties in providing raw materials, the insufficient use of capacities in the light and food industry branches, the nationalization of these spheres, the excessive centralization of consumer goods and services production, despite the fact that the best conditions for pluralism in ownership conditions and for a stimulating effect of the market mechanism exist in these branches, precisely.

I would add another cause to all these causes: It is the price policy, which plays a decisive role in many respects. The many years that a price policy existed in our country, which at the first glance, seems socially just and capable of guaranteeing stability, actually represents one of the main obstacles to economic development.

The lack of normal price relations distorts the indexes of branches and economic units, making them economically incompatible, it obstructs the normal and natural process of the transfusion of capital and resources, and it halts the growth of production, in the final analysis.

On the other hand, the maintainance of stable prices, when no objective conditions for this exist either on the international or the domestic level, under the conditions of increasing production expenditures, intensifies the redistributing function of the budget, thus undermining the opportunities of self-development and self-initiative.

The conscious isolation of the price system in our country from the basic world prices, and the unrealistic exchange rate encourages imports and obstructs exports by all means.

In analyzing the Bulgarian economic crisis and its causes, we clearly realize how important it is to find a sensible, democratic ratio between politics and economy. Wherever economy becomes a political instrument and relies on command-administrative methods and on constant organizational changes [words indistinct].

In realizing the urgent sociopolitical crisis, the authoritarian regime adopted a series of measures and approaches in recent years. A policy of domestic and foreign debts was forced, through which the regime was trying to guarantee its own stability.

In the final account, this policy, especially over the last five to six years, led to excessive consumption, both in the investment and production sphere, and in the sphere of individual consumption. Since this consumption was not covered by national resources, we permitted ourselves to exist on borrowed money.

The increase of the country's domestic and foreign debt became a typical expression of this consumers' policy.

In analyzing the reasons for the domestic crisis in our country, we cannot neglect either the opportunistic factors or the grave consequences of arbitrary attitudes in politics and economy. We should not disregard the question of personal responsibility for abuses committed in the economic sphere.

We would, however, commit a great error, and would do ourselves a disservice if we were to attribute everything to this cause, namely, solely to the authoritarian regime.

We shall draw correct conclusions, we shall map out correct methods for the further development of the Bulgarian economy only if we realize that our economic crisis is the crisis of a specific economic model built on utopian foundations. This is not only characteristic for the Bulgarian economy, but for the economic systems established according to the model of the Stalinist regime. The transformation of property into an amorphous, abstract concept, the subordination of production and consumption to state-bureaucratic structures, the domination of such structures by the bureaucratic apparatus and the opportunity given to the bureaucrat to rule over nationwide property according to his own wish—this is the fundamental reason for the distortion of the real economic and social [word indistinct] of production relations in our country.

It is not sufficient today to distance ourselves from this or that mistake and to resolutely denounce them. A change of the point of view is required. As a country and as a society, we must face the natural laws of economy, the universally valid economic mechanisms and regulators today.

Life shows that there is no alternative to market economy. It also shows that even market economy itself is evolving. Today no one can claim that market economy should be identified with capitalism, just as we cannot claim that this economy is incompatible with the principles of social justice and with human equality, as long as we understand the concept of equality as equal rights and opportunities for man.

Today the government's socioeconomic policy is subject to the implementation of the [word indistinct] and to economic reform.

Esteemed National Assembly deputies, we realize that the current policy cannot be successfully restructured and implemented without considering the requirement for a medium-term and short-term (word indistinct) and technological policy, without considering the social and ecological circumstances.

We realize, along with this, that the adoption of such a short-term and medium-term policy in the economic sphere should be the task of the new national assembly that the people are expected to elect (?after the present Ninth National Assembly).

For this reason, the government submits to the attention of the present session of the Ninth National Assembly a program on overcoming the economic crisis and on economic reform, taking into consideration the current measures, which should be adopted this year and in particular [word indistinct].

As the government stated [word indistinct] in 1990, we analyze the short-term economic measures with the greatest care as the basic elements of the economic reform and as its practical starting point. In addition to everything else, this would guarantee continuity and consistency in implementing the economic policy for the period up to [word indistinct], the more so, since in drafting the basic principles of the economic reform, described in section two of the program, we took into consideration the consultations with various experts within the framework of the roundtable working group.

The government developed the program on socioeconomic development for the current year under very difficult internal and external economic conditions. Despite all this, we think that it has marked the beginning of a purpose-oriented overcoming of the economic crisis. Our attention was devoted to optimal efforts for stabilizing the situation of the domestic market, despite the limited opportunities available to our country.

The aforementioned efforts are aimed at the beginning of the economy's financial stabilization, implementing certain measures aimed at normalizing the national financial balances and of the credit system and at normalizing the financial situation of the companies. This also applies to measures for restricting the amount of the foreign debt and for stabilizing our balance of payments in the forthcoming years. We are planning an active social policy and intend to adopt economic, social, and other measures for preventing the considerable reduction of the real (?living standard) of the population, especially as regards the socially weak strata of our people.

We are planning energetic and specific measures for solving the most urgent ecological problems in our country, especially in the areas where the ecological situation can be described as critical.

We fully realize that it is impossible to achieve significant successes in the economic sector. In considering the requirement for priorities, the government has decided to give major impetus to essential changes in this sector. The implementation of the new [word indistinct] policy, which partially corresponds to our own wish, but which is to a great extent compulsory because of changes in the foreign economic relations for which we are not responsible, may lead to a certain delay in our economic development. This delay should not be dramatized, the more so because it affects mainly spheres that for the time being [words indistinct].

They did not work sufficiently to the advantage of the present [word indistinct] of the domestic market and for exports in exchange of hard currency.

The reduction of the production in the aforementioned branches can be compensated, at least partially, by actively reorienting them to the aforementioned priorities. [words indistinct]

In this context, the essential reduction of production in certain branches and of the national income as a whole should be considered as minimal and provisional. This reduction could be signficantly increased if the respective companies would effectively take advantage of the free economic initiative that is granted to them today.

A change is emerging in the correlation between the first and second categories of social production to the advantage of the second category—an increase of the relative share of Group B in industrial production from 37 percent in 1989 to nearly 40 percent in 1990.

The government considers light and food industry as priority branches, the same applies to trade and services. While the share of machine-building industry in the total industrial production should decrease by nearly four points, the share of light and food industry should increase.

Measures likely to increase agricultural production are being adopted within our possibilities.

In the investment sphere, we envision reductions of capital investments amounting from nearly 9,250,000,000 leva in 1989 to 7,450,000,000 in 1990. This means approximately 20 percent.

We intend to achieve this goal mainly through increasing our budget investments and the banks' credit resources. The construction-assembly work will be reduced even more, namely by approximately 30 percent. This should make it possible to considerably reduce the share of uncommissioned construction projects and, last but not least, to create conditions for real competition and contention for orders among the construction organizations.

We are expecting that approximately 75 percent of the capital investments in material production will be spent on technological modernization measures. The restriction of investments will be mainly effectuated in material production by giving priority to building projects about to be commissioned; in the sphere of consumer goods, to export goods likely to ensure reliable foreign currency profits; and in projects likely to improve the ecological parameters of production.

The market policy that has been mapped out does everything possible in order to prevent the consumption of [word indistinct] from being seriously affected. From the analysis made following consultations with the companies, we consider it possible that commodity receipts may increase by one to two percent, and even by two percent in the terms of foodstuffs. The supply of urgently needed goods for the domestic markets—especially as regards foodstuffs such as meat and meat products, cheese, dairy fats, as well as children's goods—expressed in natural terms, will, on the whole, be maintained at last year's level. The existing prices of the most important foodstuffs are also expected to remain the same, thanks to budget subsidies.

The specific size of the commodity receipts will depend on the activity of these [word indistinct] and of their capacity to better use the available installations, the manpower, and of [word indistinct] enterprises. This, to an even greater extent, applies to the better use of the land in cooperative, private, and other sectors.

We envision a greater variety of services for everyday life and the increase in their volume to 17.5 percent. We envision measures to stabilize the goods and services on the market, which should be facilitated by the liberalization of prices and the creation of other favorable conditions. This is our conviction.

The government faces solving a very difficult dilemma: This applies to the essential expansion of the country's exports in exchange for convertible currency, without affecting the most important commodity funds. These two goals, which at the first glance exclude each other, can be achieved first of all by a production increase. This requires considerable changes in our foreign economic relations. The exports to CEMA member-countries should decrease on an absolute and relative basis, while the reduction in the machine- building production sector should be substantial. It should amount to 3 billion leva. The envisioned changes in the exports to CEMA member-countries are coordinated with the requirement for guaranteeing the imports of basic raw material resources for the country.

Nevertheless, I would like to inform our National Assembly that because of our country's extremely complicated situation in the (?currency) sector, we have envisioned having convertible currency reserves to compensate for imports in case the envisioned supplies from the CEMA member-countries are not delivered. This requires a strict fulfillment of our export obligations to those countries, but we also expect them to fulfill their obligations toward us. If we do not fulfill this obligation, we have only ourselves to blame.

The program envisions a series of economic measures for increasing exports and for limiting imports in exchange for convertible currency, including noncommodity operations. As a result of all this, we expect the negative currency balance amounting to $1.326 million in 1989 to diminish to approximately $700 million in 1990. The envisioned improvement of our currency balance according to [word indistinct] currency by no means signifies, however, that the government is orienting itself toward exports of (?such currency).

It is sufficient to remember that the envisioned exports for 1990 are worth only 200 million currency leva more than those of last year. This is only 60-70 percent of the value of our exports in the 1972-73 period.

We should clearly realize, however, that this increase in exports is extremely insufficient, considering our situation. An extensive expansion of our presence on the world market, fundamental changes in the structure and effectiveness of our exports, and on this basis, a large-scale increase in currency resources are required. These are the urgent needs of our economy, which it cannot do without. We must adopt effective measures for the total technological and structural renewal of our economy.

Without increasing the currency receipts, we cannot resolve even one problem of our society in a civilized manner, no matter whether it is related to the economic or the social sector. Therefore, the exports of Bulgarian companies should expand on the world markets [passage indistinct].

The government will apply a system of measures aimed at encouraging export and ensuring additional foreign currency revenues.

An active social policy can be conducted on the basis of a firm and strong economy. Unfortunately, our present economy does not fit this definition. Nevertheless, while significantly reducing important budget expenditures in material production, we increased expenditures in the social sphere. We calculate that as a result of limiting the construction-fitting works in material production, as well as other measures, we could construct some 61,000 apartments in 1990—22,000 to 23,000 of them on an economic basis. Without underestimating other acute needs related to the shortage of apartments, we think that the state and municipalities must initiate a decisive policy of giving priority to resolving the apartment problem of the extremely needy young families and families with many children.

The government will insist that the executive committees of the people's councils adopt real measures for making available to needy families apartments that now are being used for administrative purposes. Possibilities are created for activating hospital and clinic facilities in regions without a sufficient material basis. Resources are being allocated to improving the health system in the villages. Completion of the construction and commissioning of schools in settlements, where the share of two- and three-shift studies is great, has been envisioned. Measures have been envisioned for the construction of water supply projects.

In order to resolve certain pressing problems in health care, the program will give priority attention to ensuring medicines, drugs, and medical equipment.

The line of transferring public buildings to the needs of youth, social care, and education that began after 10 November 1989, and that was warmly approved by the Bulgarian public, must continue with even greater determination. The government is preparing a package of proposals on those issues, and hopes that the present owners will fully understand the profound social meaning of this policy.

Regardless of the efforts that are being made to stabilize the domestic market, the tension [words indistinct] will continue during the current year. This is a result of not only the insufficient production and supply of goods, services, and apartments and the rapid increase of the population financial revenue, but also of the wage increase in certain categories of working people, mainly in the spheres of health care and education, something that could not have been further postponed, as well as of increasing the minimum pension.

Against the background of the domestic market, our public ever more insistently poses the issue of defending itself against corruption, speculation, and illegal export of scarce consumer goods by Bulgarian and foreign citizens. The situation in this sphere is aggravated by the significant difference between prices in our market and in the markets of neighboring countries. The government agrees that the situation requires more energetic measures of pricing, customs, foreign currency, and administrative character. Consequently, the government began to implement such measures. We understand that such measures are unpleasant, and that the radical solution of the problem is related to consistently implementing the economic reform. However, those measures are indispensable at the present stage. They correspond to the interests of the greater part of the population, and therefore we rely on the support of the public.

Recently, the ecological problems became some of the most painful and broadly discussed problems of our society. Nobody in our country any longer questions the necessity of forming a new model of economic development that will combine the requirements of economic growth and the modern ecological ideas. We can say that a nationwide consensus emerged on this issue. However, the contradictions and differences emerge when we begin to discuss specific measures.

At the instruction of the National Assembly, the government worked out a medium-term program on improving the ecological situation in certain regions, where it is critical. The program was presented to parties and movements especially interested in ecological issues. After the discussion of the program with their participation and with the participation of the people's councils and representatives of the population from the relevant regions, we will submit the program to the National Assembly.

However, I can already tell you that some 2 billion leva and more than $600 million will be invested in the next five years in implementing the measures envisioned by the program.

The government does not think that taking a side in the conflicts and disputes that emerge in connection with certain ecological problems should be its role. It is our duty to require objectivity and realism, while taking into consideration both the national interests and the interests of the population in the relevant regions. While resolving the ecological issues we must place the people's health and safety above anything else. Simultaneously, we must carefully examine the economic and social aspects of every decision. This is especially important when the closing of major enterprises is proposed.

Thus, if we interrupt the production process in only 10 combines and enterprises, which are the central topic of many excited discussions—I mean Neftokhim Burgas, Polikhim Devnya, Agrobiokhim Stara Zagora, Khimcombine Vidin, Khimcombine Vratsa, Steel-Pernik, Kremikovtsi, Srednogorie Copper Producing Plant, Plovdiv Novferrous Metals Producing Plant, and the

Kurdzhali Lead and Zinc Combine—we will have to dismiss about 100,000 workers and provide more than 2 billion leva for the import of the relevant production. The negative consequences along the chain of economic relations in anything related to national income, industrial production, and the nationwide employment rate will increase several times.

Obviously, the closing down of enterprises could be viewed as an extreme measure, when there is no other sensible solution. The main road in the next few years must be the road of accelerated modernization, ecological modernization, and the construction of modern purifying devices. This is, namely, the approach adopted by the aforementioned medium-term program of the government. Its implementation must obtain total priority and take place under public control.

Esteemed people's representatives, the envisioned economic reform is based on the postulate that at the present stage of human development there is no alternative to the market economy. Implementing the transition from central planning to a market economy is one of the main elements of the reform. We think that the market economy is characterized by a diversity of the forms of ownership and management, the market being the basic regulator of production, exchange, and consumption, the state as the regulator of the economic activity, maintaining a social character of the economic development, and integration in the world economic structures.

The government considers that the following urgent measures must be implemented in the current year in order to overcome the economic crisis and develop the economic reform:

First: diversifying the forms of ownership and management. Eliminating the monopoly of state ownership and creating a mixed economy in which all basic forms of ownership—state, municipal, and private, and the related forms of cooperative, shareholding, public, foreign citizens', and mixed ownership—are equal before the law and enjoy legal protection is a basic prerequisite of establishing a market economy. The correlation between those forms will constantly change and there will be mutual integration and enrichment. The place of every form of ownership will be determined on the basis of their economic and social efficiency under conditions of competition. For this purpose the government has envisioned, in the program brought to your attention, a series of economic and legal measures for the privatization of a part of the state property and encouraging cooperative, shareholding, and private ownership.

On the basis of the experience of other countries, we envision establishing a special group within the Council of Ministers that will take part in working out and implementing state policy in this area.

We are guided by the understanding that the issue of ownership, including the issue of state property, cannot be resolved by decrees. It hardly is realistic to think that the problems of the major state enterprises could be resolved only through privatization, as some people are proposing. The world's experience, including the experience of certain developed Western states, shows that the state enterprises that work under market conditions successfully compete with other enterprises. We think that at the present stage, especially in the sphere of large-scale industry, the most important thing is to decisively conduct a line of separating economic activity from the state administration and ensuring in practice the total economic independence and self-support of the enterprises without any special restrictions. For this purpose we will encourage the development of the shareholding principle of ownership in state industry, and the reorganization of this industry, [words indistinct], also by turning some of the major state enterprises into mixed enterprises with the participation of our own and foreign investors.

Diversifying the forms of ownership begins through broadly introducing leasing relations. The world's experience shows that leasing as a social form could successfully service various areas. It must not contradict the various forms of ownership. Those different economic relations supplement each other. This has been confirmed by the experience of the most developed capitalist countries.

The government program devotes special attention to improving economic relations in the priority sphere of agriculture. It confirms that the state, municipalities, citizens, and other organizations who have joined the Labor Cooperative Agricultural Farms, and their heirs, are the owners of land in Bulgaria. Because of the special importance and specific character of land ownership, the government thinks that this issue must be resolved by a separate law that should be adopted by the National Assembly after a broad and businesslike nationwide discussion.

The position of the government on agriculture as a priority branch was expressed in two decrees, which have been recently adopted. In January we adopted the decree on encouraging the individual and private initiative in agriculture, and in March the decree on amendments and addenda to the economic conditions, regulating factors, and normatives related to agricultural activity. Those legal acts made the first steps toward implementing a program on radically reforming agrarian relations.

Second: increasing the economic independence of the companies and deregulation of economic activity. It is an open secret that despite the numerous reforms in our country in the last two decades, the economic organizations in our country were deprived of elementary economic independence by hundreds of laws and subordinate legal acts.

In the program declaration of 8 February 1990, the government announced the deregulation of economic activity as one of the basic directions of its policy. The changes in certain laws, proposed at the last and current sessions of the National Assembly, the proposed constitutional amendments, the changes in the Decree on Economic Activity, and many acts of the Council of Ministers already contain many real measures in this respect. Several dozen laws and subordinate legal acts that limited the economic independence of the enterprises have been quashed. It is important to note the elimination of many restrictions on private economic activity. We introduced the right to purchase economic objects and separate basic means of production from state and municipal companies. We removed the restrictions on the maximum number of workers employed in private enterprises. We provided the possibility to form and participate in shareholding companies, as well as in companies with limited and unlimited liability. We expanded the rights to conduct foreign economic activity.

Third: liberalizing price setting. The government considers it necessary to rapidly advance toward market price setting for the predominant portion of the goods and services. We are guided by the rule that the market is the best price setter. On this basis, the government adopts the approach of an accelerated and gradual transition toward market formation of the prices and limiting their state regulation to an appropriate degree. As a result of this, the market price forming in the second half of the year will encompass about 40 percent of the entire commodity production, while last year this practice encompassed only 12 percent. This percentage will be even higher in the sphere of services.

Viewing the liberalization of prices as inevitable and necessary, we must take into consideration that with the present deficiency of commodity resources and the existence of a great amount of money for which there are no goods available, the existing monopoly, and the limited possibilities of developing competition only within a national framework, the liberalization of prices could lead to an uncontrollable price increase. In this context, it is especially important to quickly work out and apply legislative acts that will create efficient prerequisites for control and struggle against the abuse of the monopoly of producers and merchants and for developing real competition. In this context we must change the functions of the state offices, and first of all of [two words indistinct].

Fourth: the financial situation. While discussing the budget for 1990, the people's representatives understand well the present financial state of our economy as a whole and of the companies and other economic units. Within the framework of gradually improving the state finances and stabilizing the financial situation of the companies, the government is already adopting many specific measures. A radical tax reform is being discussed. It will affect not only the taxes of the economic organizations, but also the taxation of the citizens. During the current year we will introduce a uniform progressive tax on the personal income of the citizens and a tax [words indistinct] of the state companies. We are strengthening the stimulating functions of the tax system by taking into consideration the existing economic situation. We also envision efficient measures for improving tax discipline, which recently has greatly deteriorated.

The government is adopting a firm policy of limiting budget expenditures, mainly through reducing the subsidies for nonprofitable or low-profit and other economic activities, capital investments financed by the budget, expenditures for maintaining the administrative apparatus, and other measures. We are stopping the budget financing of political parties and public organizations. We are creating economic conditions, under which after exhausting all means of financing improvement, we will have to advance toward reorganizing or closing down nonprofitable or low-profit enterprises. We envision conducting a modern amortization policy, including the practice of accelerated amortization. We are preparing a project of rationalizing insurance and improving the bookkeeping activity of the companies.

We are advancing toward implementing a whole program of measures related to creating a money market. During the current year we will also implement measures related to creating a two-level banking system—the Bulgarian National Bank as an autonomous, national, [word indistinct] institution, under the control of the National Assembly, and specialized financial institutions, among which the universal trade banks will have a major role during the current year.

The companies alone will select their servicing and crediting bank, while the trade banks will be released from implementing state control functions.

We plan to take important steps toward implementing a policy of expensive money. For this purpose we envision almost doubling the interest percentage, which will be flexible and dependent on the level of inflation and supply and demand at the credit market. The government plans to introduce in 1990 a practice according to which the maximum volume of the money circulated related to the internal and foreign debt will be fixed by the National Assembly.

In the course of the preliminary discussion, many participants criticized the proposal of the government on preserving the special tax on the increase of the wages fund. We fully understand the shortcomings of this approach and agree that under normal conditions this tax has no place in the system of taxes. However, we categorically oppose its elimination during the current year. This would mean depriving ourselves of the real means of influencing the excessive increase of labor wages and, thus, would create conditions for expanding the gap between the commodity resources and the ability to pay for them. The elimination of this tax should be reviewed within the context of a comprehensive tax reform.

Five: active foreign economic activity and stabilizing the balance of payments. The objective domestic and, first of all, foreign economic conditions require us during the current year to proceed toward significantly restructuring our foreign economic exchange. Under the new conditions, the producers will be more directly exposed to the demanding world market's pressure and will be forced to rationalize their production if they want to survive. The changes in the legal arrangement of economic activity offer equal possibilities for all agents of economic activity to appear in the world market, regardless of the forms of ownership and management, and while strictly observing the law. The government intends to immediately create a uniform foreign currency regime for the companies, while purchasing or selling convertible foreign currency. The companies will sell to the banks 50 percent of the convertible foreign currency they have earned, according to the market-based procedure. The other 50 percent will be left in their hands.

A limited number of companies that produce goods for export will make additional obligatory payments in foreign currency, which also will be sold to the banks according to market-based procedure. All producers will be able to purchase convertible foreign currency from the banks or from other companies according to market-based procedure, which will be based on supply and demand. We view this decision as a matter of transition. I think that in 1991 we should proceed to creating a national foreign currency market, in which all foreign currency entering the state should be sold with equal rights for all economic agents to purchase foreign currency on the basis of the rules of supply and demand. Companies in which foreigners have a part and that are registered in Bulgaria should also have access to this market. Thus, we will take a decisive step toward the international convertibility of the leva, without which it is unrealistic to talk about a modern market economy organically connected with the development and realities of the world economy.

For us as a small country, which cannot develop normally without relation to the world economy, this is one of the central issues that must be resolved. Any further postponement under the present situation of exceptionally dynamic changes in Europe could place our economy in a situation of international isolation and could inflict irreparable damage on it. The transition to a market foreign currency regime and embarking upon the necessary road under the present conditions means to normalize our balance of payments, not through administrative measures, but through economic influence over exporters and importers.

I already noted that in this sphere we are facing exceptionally difficult conditions. Overcoming the grave legacy in the foreign currency sphere will require from all of us great efforts and even a measure of self-restriction. However, it is obvious that it would be unrealistic to rely only on our present possibilities and resources while seeking the relative stability of the economy and conducting a radical financial and foreign currency reform without the understanding and support of our partners and creditors in anything related to our foreign debt.

We expressed willingness to conduct consultations on this matter on a bilateral and multilateral basis, in the course of which we could discuss constructive solutions with a view to facilitating the economic reform in Bulgaria and preventing the disruption of traditional financial and trade relations between Bulgaria and its Western partners.

Sixth: social protection of the citizens in the process of the economic reform. The transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy will be an exceptionally complex and painful process of reviewing the priorities both in the economy and the social and intellectual sphere. Since the majority of the population is convinced that overcoming the crisis and creating preconditions for efficient economic growth require a transition toward a market economy, we must accept the logical subsequent conclusion, namely, that such a profound reorganization of the economy cannot be conducted without certain social measures. This is confirmed by the experience of all countries that have embarked upon this road. Bulgaria will hardly be an exception.

We take into consideration that the reform will create temporary problems related to employment [words indistinct]. The role of the state will be decisive in organizing and financing the redirection, requalification, and social assistance for those people during a certain period of time. Such a system of assistance has been adopted and implemented on the basis of the Council of Ministers decree of December 1989. This system envisions social assistance up to six months and three additional months to the tune of the minimum wage that has been approved.

The budget for 1990 envisions the necessary minimum of means for this purpose.

Increasing the prices both of the means of production and consumer goods will be another inevitable consequence of the economic reform in anything related to changes in setting prices and the foreign currency exchange rate. It is difficult to precisely forecast the volume of this price increase. With a view to limiting inflationary tendencies, the government will apply all possible measures, including regulating the money supply, reorienting production capacities toward producing goods that are in demand, and actively applying related antimonopoly measures. Simultaneously, the government will introduce during the current year protective measures that, within the framework of the possible, will compensate for the decrease in the purchasing ability of the population and especially of the citizens with low salaries, the pensioners, and holders of scholarships. For this purpose, we will apply a mechanism for periodically reviewing minimum wages and pensions, subsidies, and other social forms of assistance. Special efforts will be made to help elderly and sick people, the disabled, young families, and families with many children.

We will soon accomplish the work related to pensions and social security. The social security system will function with the participation of the state, the social security agents and institutions, and the citizens on the basis of agreement among all partners, and those laws will be introduced to the National Assembly for adoption after a public discussion.

National consensus is the main precondition for overcoming the crisis.

Esteemed people's representatives, the nationwide discussion on the problems of our economy allowed us to strengthen our understanding of the causes, character, and scope of the economic crisis and to seek the most correct and possibly painless solutions to the crisis. In essence, despite the differences and diversity of positions, this discussion should be reviewed as the first step toward forming a national consensus on further developing the economy and the fundamental directions of the economic reform.

Without claiming that the presented program (?reflects) the entire wealth of views and proposals voiced, we believe that its main features will receive broad support [words indistinct]. The grounds for this conviction is [words indistinct]. Public support is increasing for the radical economic reform. The consistent implementation of this reform will enable us to revive the work ethic of the Bulgarian, to encourage his interest to work for a proper reward, to restore his spirit of business and economic enterprise. We have at our disposal a solid labor and intellectual potential, whose qualifications and possibilities will be effectively applied under the new conditions. Despite all the distortions that have occurred in the country's economic development, it would be erroneous for us to underestimate the material wealth, the production base that has been developed by the people's labor, and the technical, social, and scientific infrastructure that we have at our disposal. We are not starting from zero. We have something on which to base ourselves in order to make a start on a new stage in the development of the Bulgarian economy.

During the next few years, the utilization of production capacities and the country's natural resources will provide a great reserve for increasing economic efficiency and reviving the economy. We are convinced that the radical change toward the requirements of the domestic market, the orientation toward the wider and more permanent presence of an international market for goods, services, and capital, the revival of economic interests and the spirit of enterprise can enable us to activate this frozen potential and involve it in active economic turnover.

I am also given grounds for optimism by the support of our partners from the East and West in connection with the processes of the democratization of Bulgarian society and the transition that is beginning toward a market economy and integration with the world economy. Provided that the processes in Bulgaria continue their peaceful and stable progress, there is every prospect that this international support will find material expression in a substantial inflow of financial resources, capital, and technologies and the opening up of markets in various countries for our producers and exporters. These provide serious grounds for us to be optimistic.

Nevertheless, the main support for our optimism is the Bulgarian people, their sound common sense and patriotism, their love for Bulgaria, and their capability to mobilize themselves in a supreme manner at moments when our nation faces historical challenges. The present day is one such moment. Let us all unite our will and efforts to elevate our fatherland to a new level of economic and social prosperity. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Roundtable's Agreement on Amendments

AU0204205390 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 31 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

["Agreement on the Basic Ideas and Principles of the Draft Law on Amendments and Addenda to the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria"—adopted at national roundtable talks in Sofia on 30 March]

[Text] The participants in the national roundtable reached an agreement on the basic ideas and principles of the draft law on amendment and addenda to the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The amendment to the Constitution is a necessary prerequisite for the further implementation of the peaceful and legal transition to democracy. The changes proposed represent a new step in a series of measures aimed at a total constitutional reform in our social system. In accordance with the agreement on the political system, the participants in the national roundtable talks agreed on the following basic principles that will be reflected in the Law on the Amendment and Addenda to the Constitution.

I. On the Common Principles of the Political System:
1. The participants in the roundtable accept the definition of the People's Republic of Bulgaria as a democratic and law governed state.
2. The principles of political pluralism, democracy, and humanitarianism will be included in the constitution's text as a basic postulate of our political system.
3. The text of the Constitution will point out that the People's Republic is one and indivisible. The state will recognize and contribute to the development of local self-government, which is established by law.
4. A consistent and full de-ideologization of the Constitution's texts will be implemented.
5. The Bulgarian language will be declared the official language of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

II. On the Economic System.
1. The economic system of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will be based on free initiative and economic

competitiution under all equal forms of ownership, being simulataneously aimed at improving the prosperity of all our society.

2. Under the conditions of market economy, the state will assume the protection of socially weak strata of the population, while unemployment will be considered as one of the basic social risks that are subject to protection guaranteed by the Constitution.

3. The Constitution will restrict the installations that are the exclusive property of the state and include a list of the basic installations that are the property of the municipalities.

III. On Basic Rights and Freedoms of Citizens.

1. Legal mechanisms will be created and real conditions provided for the implementation of the citizens constitutional rights and freedoms in accordance with relevant international documents signed by the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

2. The text of the Constitution will specially define the role of the political parties as one of the basic organizational forms of the citizens' association in the country's political life.

3. The concept of religious rights and and freedoms as defined by the Constitution will be brought in accordance with the internationally accepted norms.

4. The concept of freedom of thought will be defined in a separate text and specified in detail.

IV. On the Organization of State Power Under the Transition of Parliamentary Democracy.

1. During the transition to parliamentary democracy, the basic principle of the separation of power will be consistently applied in accordance with the generally accepted standards of parliamentary democracy and in accordance with the constitutional guarantee against the excessive concentration of power and the abuse of power by individuals or institutions.

2. The newly elected Grand National Assembly will prepare and adopt the country's new constitution within the limit of a year and a half, and decide to hold a referendum on the basis of which the people are expected to adopt the new constitution. Along with this, the Grand National Assembly will assume all tasks of a working parliameant adopting all laws and other legal acts, which are required for the normal functioniong of the state.

As long as the new constitution has not been adopted, the Grand National Assembly is entitled to introduce amendments to the present Constitution, except for regulations related to the head of state.

The participants in the national roundtable talks express the opinion that, after adopting the new constitution, the Grand National Assembly can decide whether to discontinue or to pursue its activities in accordance with the provisions of that constitution.

3. The Grand National Assembly will function as a permanently working legislative organ.

4. The Grand National Assembly will be composed of 400 National Assembly deputies.

5. The participants in the roundtable talks express their approval of the amendments to Chapter V of the Constitution, according to which the institution of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is to be abolished. At the same time the institution of the head of state—namely of the chairman (president) of the republic is envisioned, who under the present conditions, will be elected by the National Assembly.

The participants in the roundtable express their consent that the country's acting State Council chairman should be elected as head of state.

Our country's new constitution will establish the form of state government and the functions and term of office of the head of state.

6. The amendments to the present Constitution will stipulate the following responsibilities of the head of state:

—He is in charge of guaranteeing the functioning of the state organs on the basis of the constitution and the laws;

—He will represent our state within the country and in international relations.

—He will appoint the government, after its program and composition have been approved by parliament;

—He will issue and address declarations to the people and parliament;

—He will appoint ambassadors, accept credentials from foreign ambassadors, present awards and honorary titles; decide upon appeals for clemency; grant citizenship and right of asylum; sign international treaties; and exercise other representative functions;

—In exercising his prerogatives, the head of state is entitled to issue decrees and decisions that are not considered as legislative acts;

—In case the country's security and its territorial integrity are threatened, in case of natural disasters, and in all cases in which the normal functioning of the state power bodies are disrupted, the head of state, in accordance with the Constitution, is entitled to declare total, or partial mobilization, or a state of emergency, when the National Assembly is not in session. In such cases, the National Assembly should be immediately convened to make decisions;

—The head of state is entitled to declare war in case of armed aggression against the People's Republic of Bulgaria, or in case of an urgent requirement to implement an international commitment of mutual defense if the National Assembly is not in session and cannot be convened. In such cases, the National Assembly should be immediately convened so that it may express its opinion on the decision in question;

—The head of state is not entitled to implement other leading state, political, social, and economic functions; he cannot be a member of a political party's leadership, or a member of parliament.

V. On the Government's Statute:

1. A strong, competent, and responsible government is required, which by fully and effectively fulfilling its tasks will be capable of conducting a consistent policy aimed

at overcoming the country's economic crisis and facilitating the transition to market economy.

VI. Local Government:

The participants in the national roundtable consider it necessary to hold local elections as soon as possible, namely no later than by the end of 1990.

The elections for the Grand National Assembly should take place according to a mixed system under which the following requirements will be fulfilled:
—200 deputy seats will be occupied through direct election of the candidates in one-mandate election districts on the basis of the majority principle, with a majority of more than half of the real votes;
—200 deputy seats will be occupied on the basis of the proportional principle through elections in multi-mandate territorial districts on the basis of party tickets.

Every voter will be entitled to two votes—the first for the election of a candidate in a one-mandate district and the second vote for the party ticket.

The participants in the roundtable will sign an agreement on basic principles on the elections for a Grand National Assembly.

The national roundtable proposes to the National Assembly that in drafting the law on the amendment and addenda to the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, it should take into consideration the draft texts that were agreed upon within the working group, in accordance with the agreement on the political system.

Further on Lukanov at Fatherland Front Congress

AU3103184990 Sofia BTA in English
1809 GMT 31 Mar 90

["Andrey Lukanov: "Seven Decades of Civil War in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—Bulgarian Premier Andrey Lukanov said today that "for seven decades now civil war has been waged in Bulgaria, to which an end should be put." If not civil war, then there was civil, political and social juxtaposition and confrontation in this country. Unfortunately this phenomenon was not done away with on September 9, 1944 (the country's socialist revolution), he added.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers after yesterday's persistent invitation, spoke at the extraordinary congress of the Fatherland Front which is going for a second day here. In relation with the discoveries for gross crime done against people in a number of camps in the country, Andrey Lukanov said that lawlessness is unfortunately not a monopoly of one political force in Bulgaria or other, and dates back to the beginning of the twenties.

The meaning of changes is to put an end to this opposition of Bulgarians against Bulgarians, and come out of the vicious circle of action and counteraction, the premier stressed. He spoke of the role of the Fatherland Front in the present conditions for the realization of a peaceful transition to democracy. National concord necessarily passes through national reconciliation, he said.

Andrey Lukanov dwelled on some aspects of the economic reform in this country and its consequences in the social sphere. Economic problems, according to him, are due not only to totalitarianism, but to the economic system, which has no prospects. Due to this the building of a market economy in Bulgaria in the shorter term is not simply a necessity but a historical inevitability, he said.

Andrey Lukanov sees the main thing in the economic reform in the overcoming of the ideological prejudices related to the issues of ownership, in the autonomy of all types of economic enterprises, in the establishment of a new financial system, in Bulgaria's further opening to the world. He placed special significance to changes in the price policy.

Dwelling on the inevitable negative consequences in the economy, Prime Minister Lukanov said that the government policy will be directed at the provision of full employment and not towards a policy causing unemployment and struggle with that unemployment thereafter.

Andrey Lukanov envisaged increase of the inflation processes which over the last few years moved in the framework of 10-12 per cent. He declared himself for efficient measures for protection of the citizens' interests and mainly of the socially weak.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers expressed belief in the ability not only to restore the normal rhythm of production in the comparatively short term, but also to reach its speedy growth.

He said in conclusion that Bulgaria should show the world its ability to hold civilized and democratic elections in the conditions of perfect order and non-violence in the pre-election campaign, for which the Fatherland Front can contribute.

Dispute Over New Name Continues in Slovakia

LD0204214590 Prague CTK in English 1847 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Prague April 2 (CTK)—Disputes over the new name of Czechoslovakia continue. Response is coming mainly from Slovakia where last week's Federal Assembly vote was met with mixed feelings.

In its statement today the Slovak Coordinating Committee of the Greens Party appealed to the nations and nationalities in the Czech and Slovak republics to abandon arguing, and demanded approval of such a name of the republic which would clearly express the equal position of Slovakia in the federation. At the same time it rejected political activities of those forces which incite chauvinist and separatist moods.

The leadership of the Slovak National Party asked CTK to publish a letter to Slovak National Council Chairman Rudolf Schuster in which it voiced protest against the official name of the republic which is the Czechoslovak Federative Republic in Czech and the Czecho-Slovak Federative Republic in Slovak. The Slovak National Party supported again its proposal it submitted last month concerning the name of the republic—the Federation of Czechs and Slovaks.

Public Against Violence Condemns Nationalism

LD0204133490 Prague CTK in English 1146 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Bratislava April 2 (CTK)—"The Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence condemns all expressions of extreme nationalism, which strain the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks and weaken the chances for the more rapid establishment of a democratic, prosperous and free federation of two sovereign national republics in a free state," states the Council's declaration.

"We consider the agreement respecting the full rights of both nations as the only possible way to mutual coexistence," concludes the declaration.

Public Against Violence, the prominent political force in Slovakia, is reacting, in this declaration, particularly to the Friday demonstrations in Bratislava where some speakers proposed that Slovakia break away from Czechoslovakia and create its own state. This demand was caused by discontent over the Czechoslovak Federal Parliament's decision on the name of the state which in Slovak is Czecho-Slovak and in Czech comes without the hyphen.

CPSL Chairman Weiss on Minority Problems

AU0304094690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Mar 90 p 7

["(ao)"-signed report: "Dialogue, Tolerance, and Mutual Respect"]

[Excerpts] Komarno—A district aktiv of communists and sympathizers was held in the evening of 22 March in the House of Friendship. Peter Weiss, Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Executive Committee chairman, also took part in this aktiv. At the start of the meeting, those present adopted a standpoint on the unrest in Transylvania. The resolution declares, among other things: "Again and again we are learning that nationalism is blind and deaf and that it refuses to accept what sound reasoning and natural human kindness teach. In its final effect, it only multiplies the wounds suffered by the nation itself. We believe strongly that the current conflict in Transylvania will only be ended in an honest, fast, and fair way by the nations who live there themselves. In this sense we are prepared to offer help which will be formulated by our republic's constitutional institutions." [passage omitted]

From the Speech Delivered by Peter Weiss, CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee Chairman.

A larger and larger majority of our population is engaging in discussions about national policy, which has suffered, along with other areas of our life, from subjectivity, simplification, and incompetence. Demands that these problems be solved were also heard at the extraordinary district conferences as well as at the CPSL extraordinary congress. [passage omitted]

The revived Communist Party of Slovakia is, in the constitutional sense, in favor of nationality rights for universal development and the right to use a native language in official contacts; it is in favor of the right, in areas inhabited by the pertinent nationalities, to associate in national, cultural and social organizations, and of the right for national-language press and information. [passage omitted]

We must bear in mind that, under the conditions of political plurality, the space for expressing and defending social and political views is also widening within the framework of nationalities. At the same time, however, plurality—a multiparty system—does not exclude the possibility of the abuse and irresponsible misuse of justified national demands. [passage omitted]

We support the formation of democratic unity among the ranks of nationalities, yet we do not defend isolationist tendencies.

Our revived party, with the support of all its members, is creating scope for members of the Hungarian ethnic minority to push for their specific demands. The Communist Party of Slovakia is against provocations and nationalist attacks, irrespective of where such attacks may originate and irrespective of the party membership of those who organize such campaigns and disinformation. [passage omitted]

Dialogue, tolerance, and mutual respect must become a tool for the policy toward minorities. A solution to such a sensitive question can only be found on the basis of democracy by implementing close cooperation among democratic institutions. Of course, discussion about these questions is possible only when the inviolability of borders is respected.

We support the magnanimous attitude of our government which rejects the principle of reciprocity—that is, to give as many rights and as much support to our Hungarian ethnic minority as Slovak nationals are given in the Hungarian republic. Such an attitude toward satisfying national and nationalistic needs would be inhumane and politically erroneous. [passage omitted]

The Communist Party of Slovakia action program states that the party will support the search for such specific forms of autonomy for minorities as would correspond to Czechoslovak conditions and for such political structures as ensure political equality for Slovaks and minorities in Slovakia's mixed population areas. [passage omitted]

We realize that for the party's work the creation of a party periodical in Hungarian is necessary. We have already adopted certain provisions which will enable the establishment of a left-wing weekly in Hungarian. [passage omitted]

Socialist Party Calls for Czech, Slovak Unity

LD3103203890 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 31 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 31 (CTK)—It would be against the logic of the all-European model were the Czechoslovak state to disintegrate, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Presidium said in a statement issued today on the situation which has developed in connection with the negotiations on the name of the republic.

The statement pointed out that this is happening at a time when a big Germany is being born and at a time when controversial trends threatening to result in unpredictable solutions appear east of Czehcoslovakia.

The possible split of Czechoslovakia would be painful for Bohemia and Moravia for many reasons. But it would be probably much more painful for Slovakia, the statement said.

We wish the preservation of the state of Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks, but if Slovak brother wish to form an independent Slovak state, they cannot be impeded in their effort. However, the past has already once showed how unfortunate such a decision would be, the statement pointed out.

Abolition of Czech National Front Recommended

LD0204212890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] The participants of the Roundtable talks of key political forces and movements of the Czech Republic met in Prague today to express their views on questions linked with the laws on elections to the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council. With the participation of the chairman of the Czech National Council and the Czech premier they also discussed the situation which has arisen within the Czechoslovak Federative Republic concerning efforts to strengthen relations between the two national republics. The Roundtable unanimously reached the conclusion that it is necessary to recommend the abolition of the National Front in the Czech Republic. If a body serving the rapprochement between certain public organizations, political parties and movements should come into being, the costs of its functioning should be financed from the funds of its member organizations.

The Roundtable went on to recommend that the chairman of the Czech National Council, together with the Czech premier, should set up a commission for terminating the work of the National Front in the Czech Republic in both economic and functional respects. The requirements of those newly rising political parties and movements, which made important contributions to the forming of the policy of the state, should be proportionately met from its former assets.

Foreign Minister Dienstbier Begins UK Visit

LD0104185290 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 1 Apr 90

[Text] London April 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today started a three-day official visit to Britain.

He will be received by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, will visit Parliament, and will have talks with his counterpart Douglas Hurd and other leading British politicians.

A cultural agreement is expected to be signed during the visit.

Holds Talks With Thatcher

LD0204215790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs, started his official visit to Great Britain today. Zdenek Vilimek, our correspondent, reports:

[Vilimek] In the afternoon, Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs, was received at the traditional residence of British prime ministers in Downing Street by Mrs. Thatcher. The talks lasted for nearly an hour and Jiri Dienstbier termed them "very successful." In the course of the talks with the British prime minister a very broad range of issues concerning both bilateral Czechoslovak-British relations and the present situation on the European continent were discussed, he said. Great attention was paid above all to the necessity to create a future, reliable security system in Europe which will respect the historic changes taking place in Central and East Europe.

Margaret Thatcher and Jiri Dienstbier also discussed the consequences of German unification and stressed yet again in this connection that Poland's borders are unchangeable. In the course of the talks, both Mrs. Thatcher and Jiri Dienstbier expressed great satisfaction over the rapid improvement of Czechoslovak-British relations, especially after the recent historic visit of President of the Republic Vaclav Havel to London. In this connection some specific questions of cooperation were examined. Margaret Thatcher, for example, promised British help in the teaching of English in Czechoslovakia.

The minister of foreign affairs also held talks today with leading representatives of the British Council, an independent organization engaged in cultural exchanges and cooperation between British cultural and art institutions and foreign countries.

Jiri Dienstbier also visited THE TIMES newspaper. At present he is holding talks with members of the leadership of the anti-war organization END, the Campaign for European Disarmament [as heard].

Komarek Talks Include Eagleburger, Brzezinski

AU0304093690 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 24 Mar 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Permanent Coordination"]

[Text] For First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek, the meeting with Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state, was the culmination of his program in Washington 22 March. "I see the importance of this meeting in the fact that new foundations were laid for a permanent coordinating mechanism for economic relations between the two countries," said V. Komarek to a CTK correspondent. "I consider it very important that our pragmatic attitude to economic reform, which is not only a collection of restrictive and anti-inflationary provisions but also the creation of scope for enterprise, for cooperation with world firms, and for strengthening our ability to compete, was accepted favorably.

Yesterday, at the end of his talks in the United States, which lasted one week, V. Komarek visited the headquarters of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Washington. Among other things, he discussed with senior officials topical questions related to the renewal of Czechoslovak membership in these institutions.

The subject of V. Komarek's talks with Z. Brzezinski, the prominent American political scientist, was the wide spectrum of problems related to bilateral relations, recent developments in Europe, the global situation, and its impact on international economic relations.

Havel Sends Message to Gorbachev on Lithuania

AU0304082190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Mar 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Telegram to M. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Prague— President Vaclav Havel sent the following telegram to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev 29 March:

Esteemed Mr. President: I follow with concern the exacerbating situation in Lithuania. Any form of violence, including the mere threat of using violence, can seriously harm efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement in Europe. I am convinced that the only possible solution to this difficult situation is an open and just political dialogue between representatives of the Soviet Union and Lithuania. Czechoslovakia, as a country that is actively trying to become involved in the all-European peace process, is ready to provide its services and neutral soil for this dialogue.

The CSSR president sent an identically worded telegram also to Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament.

Calfa, Italy's De Michelis Hold Working Dinner

LD3003174790 Prague CTK in English 0725 GMT 30 mar 90

[Text] Rome March 30 (CTK correspondent) —Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis gave a working dinner here last night in honour of Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

The Italian minister emphasized in his speech that it was not only Czechoslovakia but also Italy that has been suffering since 1968 as it could not have such relations with Czechoslovakia as it wished. The events of the past few months make it, however, possible to make up with the lost time in political as well as economic, cultural and human relations.

New possibilities open both in relations between Italy and Czechoslovakia but also in the creation of new united Europe, Gianni de Michelis said.

Part of this process will be Czechoslovakia's entry into the Alpine-Danube union, the members of which—Italy, Hungary, Austria and Yugoslavia—will meet with Czechoslovak representatives in Bratislava on April 9.

The Italian minister voiced satisfaction with the fact that the Czechoslovak prime minister made use of his visit to Rome for signing an agreement that will enable the two states' citizens free travelling. The fact that more Czechs and Slovaks will arrive in Rome, Florence and Venice and more Italians to Prague, Bratislava and other towns is one of the expressions of a new phase in relations between the two countries, he stressed.

Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa appreciated the warm welcome that he and his entourage got in

Rome and expressed satisfaction with the fact that he could continue comprehensive and interesting talks with the Italian foreign minister that followed up his January visit to Prague.

The Czechoslovak delegation arrived in Rome with the intention to explain the events in Czechoslovakia, its ideas about further development of Czechoslovak-Italian relations and about Czechoslovakia's position in Europe. "We sowed a seed from which a tree will grow that will prove the strength of the two countries' relations as well as the fact that barriers fall in Europe and that nations are able to find a common language", Marian Calfa emphasized.

The Czechoslovak prime minister and his entourage left Rome for Prague last night.

Dienstbier Requests Council of Europe Membership

AU0204142690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Mar 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Czechoslovakia's Request for Acceptance Into the Council of Europe"]

[Text] Lisbon—An extraordinary session involving the foreign ministers from the 23 Council of Europe member countries came to an end in Lisbon's Hotel Ritz 24 March. Issues concerning cooperation with the states of central and East Europe were discussed at the session.

Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak foreign minister, who participated in the meeting as a guest, spoke at the session and submitted a request for Czechoslovakia's acceptance as a full-fledged member of the Council of Europe.

In connection with this request, the minister commented that Czechoslovakia is prepared to become a contractual party to the European Cultural Convention and that it is also prepared to enter into further agreements with this important international organization. This involves legal support and cooperation in confronting terrorism, in the struggle against trade in narcotic substances, and so on. He referred in particular to Czechoslovakia's interest in joining the European Convention on Human Rights.

In a conversation with Vaclav Mecir, CTK's special correspondent, Minister Dienstbier said in connection with this, for example, "that the Council of Europe member countries accept the principle that any of their citizens can turn to the international court and submit a complaint about the authorities in their own country for violating human rights."

J. Dienstbier also stated that Czechoslovakia has already been promised the special status of guest. "Now we are applying for full membership. Preconditions for this are free elections, a pluralist system, freedom of information, and other conditions. If the main one—that a free parliament prepare free laws and ratify an agreement to the European Convention on Human Rights—is fulfilled, then there are, in effect, no barriers to our acceptance. However, approval procedures in the parliaments of all member countries may cause a certain delay."

Foreign Companies Show Interest in Oil, Gas

AU0204160590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 27 March on pages 1 and 3, under the headline "We Are Not Kuwait, but...," carries a 650-word article by Rostislav Valasek on the interest being shown by some American and British oil companies in drilling for oil and gas in Czechoslovakia.

According to Dr. Vaclav Richter, an official at the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Energy, "a representative from the American oil company AMOCO was here to carry out tests on the soil. Foreign capital offers participation in exploring for deposits, in financing this kind of exploration, and a share in extraction." He continues, "Participation in exploration could be very attractive for us; after all, searching for deposits is an extremely expensive business. One test drill to a depth of six kilometers costs from 120-150 million korunas."

There are no plans to increase the extraction of oil and gas in Czechoslovakia during the 1991-95 period since, apart from the deposits at Senne in East Slovakia (gas) and at Zdanice in South Moravia (oil), no other deposits have been authenticated by exploration.

Federal Assembly Debates New Budget, Laws

AU0204154190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "More Money for Parliament Spending?"]

[Text] Prague—On the penultimate day of the 27th joint session of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations Planning and Budget Committees, the meeting opened with the members' discussion of the Federal Statistical Office's chapter on the budget. The discussion implied that the Federal Statistical Office must concentrate on objective information on the development of society and the national economy. The data provided to date has been distorted, incomplete, and many facts were concealed. The committees' members also discussed the Federal Assembly's chapter on the budget. This amount is being discussed with the Federal Ministry of Finance as Parliament considers the sum of 65 million korunas to be unsatisfactory and is demanding another 35 million.

Members of the legislative bodies of both CSSR Federal Assembly chambers spent about 120 minutes discussing the draft law on the right to petition. The provision that a petition must not interfere with a court's independence required the longest discussion by the deputies. In the end, after arguments for and against were heard, they agreed on the validity of this stipulation.

An amendment to the press law was also discussed by the committees' members at the joint session. The opportunity to publish periodicals in Czechoslovakia is not limited to legal persons (firms, organizations) but is open to any person (private entrepreneurs).

Members of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations Industry, Transport, and Trade Committees ended their 27th joint session yesterday. They dealt with the government's draft law on individual enterprise by physical persons. This should make the development of private enterprise possible and, in turn, will play a decisive role in the removal of present day monopolies. The individual enterprise law provides only the basic framework. Other legal regulations, for instance, the CSSR Constitution, the Business and Penal Code, the Labor Code, and the Currency Law, must be adjusted to facilitate application of the Individual Enterprise Law in practice. The committees' members also dealt with the draft Constitutional Law which changes and complements Constitutional Law No. 100/1960, Constitutional Law No. 143/1968 on Czechoslovak Federation and the Czechoslovak Republic Constitution, amendments to laws on social security and employees' health insurance, and the government draft law on corporations.

Industry, Ecology Top Federal Assembly Agenda

AU0304075190 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 27 Mar 90 pp 1,3

[CTK Report: "The Federal Assembly Chambers' April Program"]

[Text] The Federal Assembly chambers' presidiums have held a session in Prague; in the presence of the committees' chairmen, the session discussed the supervision of preparations for the 26th joint meeting of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations.

The meeting's agenda will be completed by a draft amendment to the Civil Code, which was presented on the initiative of Federal Assembly deputies, and by discussing a draft Federal Assembly resolution regarding the validity of the Federal Assembly's consent to the Agreement on the Temporary Deployment of the Soviet Army on Czechoslovak Territory. Further, the presidiums discussed the preparations for the 27th joint meeting of the Federal Assembly chambers and decided to convene it for 18-20 April 1990.

Its program will be very full. It is expected that the deputies will discuss the government's new draft law on rehabilitation, the draft amendment to the Economic Code, and the draft amendment to the state arbitrage law. They will also discuss draft laws on state enterprise, on cooperatives, on economic relations with foreign countries, on enterprises with foreign capital participation, and on the state's regulation of the economy. Further, a number of so-called financial laws should also be on the agenda—that is, a turnover tax law, a revenue tax law, an amendment to the law on foreign currency, and an amendment to the law on utilizing land and other property for production purposes. The program will certainly also include the long-awaited laws on private enterprise by physical persons, on joint stock companies, and on the administration of uninhabited premises. The deputies will also discuss, among other things, the amendment to the social security and employees' health insurance laws.

The Chamber of Nations' Presidium was informed about the resignation of Deputy Zdenka Lietavska (constituency no. 67—Karvina) and the Chamber of People Presidium was informed about the resignation of Anna Vondruskova (constituency no. 97—Jihlava). Their mandates will end on 29 March 1990 in accordance with the law on Federal Assembly deputies.

Industry Against the Environment

The intentions of the Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and the Electrotechnical Industry were discussed at yesterday's sessions of the Environment Committees of both Federal Assembly chambers. Higher economic effectiveness and the revival of the ability to compete in hard-to-please world markets will form part of the strategy for the reconstruction of individual branches of industry. A conceptual solution necessitates profound interventions in the production base, including the restriction and termination of inefficient and obsolete facilities, and will also favorably influence the ecological characteristics of metallurgy. By the end of this century, solid emissions from this industry are to be reduced by 70 percent and sulfur emissions are to be reduced by 50 percent. It is also envisaged that inefficient non-ferrous ore mining plants will be closed down—this should be done before 1995. During the discussion, the deputies wondered, among other things, whether those enterprises producing ecological facilities will be given some advantages and how industry is prepared to improve on waste management—the quantity of waste material amounts to 200 million tonnes per year. From the answers, it ensues that the new law on state enterprise will temporarily provide scope for the existence of publicly beneficial enterprises or for enterprises managed by the state. These enterprises should produce, above all, ecological equipment. As far as waste is concerned, ways are being explored on how to use the raw materials contained in this waste material.

Government Discusses Taxation, Employment Laws

AU0304080590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Mar 90 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "The Law on Employment Is Under Preparation"]

[Text] Prague—The 29 March extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Government of National Understanding, held in Kolodeje, ended late in the evening. In addition to the law on state enterprise and the constitutional law, according to which the word "socialist" will be omitted from the name of the state, the government discussed a number of other proposals.

The draft amendment to the revenue tax law belongs among the provisions that create equal conditions for individual entrepreneurs as well as for organizations. The amendment also takes a stand on the taxation of the activities of political parties, movements, and social organizations. Political parties' economic organizations have not been taxed so far; in the case of some parties, particularly the richest ones, the Ministry of Finance has not been informed of their incomes. The draft amendment to the revenue law abolishes this tax-free clause for political parties; it should become effective this year. It is expected that this year social organizations' economic activity will be subject to tax relief, particularly in those cases where this is required in the whole of society's interests.

The government has been informed about the principles of the employment law, a law which is under preparation and which creates legal prerequisites for the labor market under the conditions of a market economy. There are new attempts to define the right to work which is to be implemented in conformity with international conventions as a "right to work, to retraining, and to social assistance during temporary unemployment; all of which applies to those citizens who want to work, who are able to work, and who are seeking a job." The principles of the law envisage the creation of employment offices equipped with computer technology able to keep records on jobs and job opportunities. These offices should also participate, in cooperation with employers, in retraining programs. The government has decided to work out another alternative solution which would ensure all these objectives. A logical change is expected due to the draft principles for social insurance; this will be transferred from trade union bodies (today's non-existent Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) to independent social security state offices. They will be entrusted with insurance for illness, retirement, and for that part of social care which is comprised of recognized benefits. Various forms of social assistance will remain under the authority of the National Committees.

The draft amendment to the law on enterprise with the participation of foreign capital will also enable the participation of individual Czechoslovak citizens and will allow for the existence of enterprises completely funded by foreign capital. The approved draft also contains the restrictions necessary for the transitional period, the period before the market laws become effective and before our currency becomes convertible. They contain the obligation to offer the state bank the earned foreign currency and to obtain consent from the Czechoslovak State Bank to open a foreign-currency account in a foreign bank.

Exchange Rate Adjusted for East German Marks

AU0304085790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "One Mark for Five Korunas"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak State Bank has decided, after concluding an agreement with the Federal Ministry of Finance, that in order to prevent speculation in East German marks, as of 26 March 1990 it will take the following measures:

1. The selling rate for the East German mark will be increased to 500 korunas for 100 marks and the purchasing rate will be increased to 350 korunas for 100 marks. The selling rate will follow changes to the East German mark and Deutsche mark exchange rates in foreign markets in order to prevent further possible speculation;

2. A limit will be imposed on the sale of foreign currency for organized or unorganized travel to the GDR; this limit will be set at the value of 4,500 korunas per person annually. The amount of currency provided will be entered by the appropriate exchange bureaus in Czechoslovak citizens' passports.

Army Reassessing Information Classification

AU0204123090 Prague PRACE in Czech 24 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Colonel Engineer Josef Ocenas, head of the Defense Ministry's Consultative Center, by Jiri Mekota; place and date not given: "What Are We To Conceal?"]

[Text] Colonel Jan Novak, spokesman of the recently established Union of Professional Soldiers said: "The fact that we have excessively concealed our army's life from the public is not to our advantage today." What is the present situation? I asked Colonel Josef Ocenas the question—as he gives advice to military journalists and, if asked, to other journalists—what exactly is secret according to law 102/71 and what is not. He responded:

[Ocenas] We have reassessed, in relatively good time, the quantity of secret information on the basis of the international political situation. It was initiated by Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, then Chief of General Staff and now Minister of National Defense, at the beginning of 1989. We have made public the peacetime locations of our garrisons, our army's arsenal, all weapons produced by the end of 1989, including, for instance, the MiG 29 fighter aircraft, except for the plane's weapons system. The functions and names of many commanders, as well as the extent of their commission and duties, were also made public. The deployment of some tactical and medium range missiles has ceased to be a secret and we have made it possible for journalists to take pictures and write about their crews. The most important fact is, in my opinion, that we have even made public cases of impaired relations among soldiers at detachments, cases connected with harassment, and we have written publicly about some cases involving damaged relations between commanders and their subordinate soldiers. We began to publish these things in an attempt to prevent similar cases.

[Mekota] Nevertheless, those of us outside the army feel that many things are kept unnecessarily secret.

[Ocenas] The basic problem from which the entire system of secrets and concealment develops, relates to the concealment of the army's budget and expenditures. Our people have the wrong impression that the army is interested in concealing defense expenditures or the costs of maintaining the army, its equipment, and training.

[Mekota] So you will declassify the budget?

[Ocenas] Only the government has the ability to do that. I believe this will happen very soon. When it comes to it, we will again reassess everything that has been kept secret according to this principle. Because, while the budget is classified, we cannot publish expenditures on armaments, we cannot give the price of a missile, or the cost of a tank or a plane. The same reason prevents us from publishing professional soldiers' income and their benefits. When this is actually done, then, I think many of those who believe the rumors about 20,000 [korunas per month] salaries will be disappointed. Besides, precisely because of the low wages, many people leave for the reserves.

[Mekota] So what will you conceal?

[Ocenas] Mobilization plans and everything connected with them will be classified. For instance, the soldiers' state of readiness, permanent military headquarters, and their communications, further plans for the army's development, arms research and development, and intelligence and special activities will remain on the classified list. Not many things will be kept secret, but what will be concealed will be top secret, and the culprits who would transgress the secrecy law will be apprehended accordingly.

Sacher's Membership in Party Questioned

AU0204133490

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 30 March on page 5 carries an 850-word article by Frantisek Melis entitled "Searching for Ways Toward Trust." The article discusses the "depoliticization of armed units, including the National Security Corps." In this connection Melis raises the question how the continued membership of Federal Interior Minister Richard Sacher in the Czechoslovak People's Party tallies with the "depoliticization" of security forces which he himself proclaims. As Melis points out, the termination or suspension of membership in political parties for members of armed units, which parliament approved on 14 March, does not concern only communists but also members of other political parties. Melis therefore appeals to Sacher to "provide an explanation as soon as possible and prove that he is not preaching water and drinking wine."

Crime Increase Due to 'Misconception of Democracy'

AU0204152590

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 March on page 3, under the headline "It Will Not Be Possible Without Citizens' Help," carries a 750-word interview with Major Jiri Stanek LLD, head of Prague's criminal investigation service, by Miloslav Vltavsky. During the interview, Stanek states that the amnesty has influenced the increase in the crime rate, but that a decisive role is played by some people's misconception of democracy; these people now believe that everything is allowed. This is only a transitional state of affairs. He also claims that although muggings are more common, they are committed by thieves, and women do not have to fear sexual attacks any more than they did previously. Because of the 100-percent increase in the crime rate and the inadequacy of police resources, many of these crimes remain unsolved. Reorganization cannot overcome the shortage of personnel, but the minister has provisionally approved the hiring of 200 new policemen. Even this, however, is not sufficient. Stanek also complains that cooperation with the public is worse than it was prior to 17 November—although he understands the reasons—and without effective cooperation with the public good results are impossible.

Resolutions Adopted at Third CPCZ Session

AU0204142890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
26 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed report on resolutions adopted at the third session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee in Prague on 24 March]

[Text] Among other things, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee made note of a report on the CPCZ's current state and most urgent tasks as presented by Vasil Mohorita, CPCZ Central Committee first secretary, and it also made note of a draft of the CPCZ's organizational regulations with comments.

In the second point, the Central Committee approved:

—a report compiled by the CPCZ Central Committee commission assessing political responsibility for crisis development in the party and in society;
—a statement on CPCZ Central Committee property.

In the third point, the CPCZ Central Committee set the Executive Committee the following task:

—to convene the fourth CPCZ Central Committee session on 21 April 1990.

It set the CPCZ Central Committee commission established to assess political responsibility the following task:

—to deal with the suspension of O. Cmolik's membership in the CPCZ and to end its activity to date with the proviso that the commission submits to the 18th CPCZ Congress a final report on its activity.

In the fourth point, the Central Committee expelled Bohuslav Chnoupek and Vratislav Vajnar from the CPCZ.

In the fifth point, it recommended the following to the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission [UKRK]:

—that, in collaboration with the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Control and Audit Commission and the CPCZ and CPSL District Control and Audit Commissions, it consider and check other possible suggestions to purge the party of compromised officials and to submit proposals to the CPCZ Central Committee Executive Committee which will forward them to the CPCZ Central Committee for a decision.

In the sixth point, the Central Committee elected Comrade Miroslav Grebenicek (Brno) as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Executive Committee.

Social Democratic Parties Merge for Elections

LD0204222390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Representatives of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party in Slovakia agreed at a joint session in Bratislava today to go into the elections under the name Social Democracy [Socialna Demokracia]. It will be based on federal principles. A coordination committee, with equal representation and delegated powers from both republic parties, will be its highest organ.

People's Party Congress To Revise Goals

LD3003203390 Prague CTK in English 1902 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 30 (CTK)—"The Czechoslovak People's Party will run for the June parliamentary elections with about 100,000 members united in their Christian belief and ideals of democracy and patriotism," People's Party first deputy chairman Bohumil Svoboda said at a press conference here today. The press conference was held on the occasion of a party congress due in Prague on April 3-5. The congress is expected to revise the party's activities in the past, mainly after its previous congress in March 1987, and to set its tasks under new conditions.

The Czechoslovak People's Party is the country's traditional political party. It was founded in 1919 by the unification of Christian democratic clubs and groups of Czech workers and peasants. After the end of World War II in 1945 it resumed its activities as the only non-socialist party in the Czech lands. In the elections in 1946 it gained 20 per cent of votes and had ministers represented in the government. After the communist coup in February 1948 the Czechoslovak People's Party was the victim of repressions. Most of its leaders were arrested, or emigrated. In the following decades the party had to submit to the Communist Party dictate enforced by the National Front, the only official platform for mass political organizations in Czechoslovakia. The number of party members had always been limited to about 40,000.

As Mr. Svoboda emphasized, a certain process of revival characterized by discontent with the party leadership conformed to the communist regime had appeared in the party in recent years. The leadership had also deprived the party of its former character based on the principles of Christian belief, justice, love and freedom.

These principles will be fixed firmly again in new statutes of the People's Party and in its election program to be discussed and approved at the forthcoming three-day party congress.

Delegations of 50 Christian democratic, Christian social and people's parties from 30 countries of Europe and America will be guests to the congress. People's Party Chairman Josef Bartoncik today returned from his visit to the United States aimed at establishing contacts with expatriate movements whose representatives have also been invited to the congress.

Modrow, Von Weizsaecker Meeting Confirmed

LD0304102790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0938 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Newspaper reports about a meeting in West Berlin between acting GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker have been confirmed today by GDR Deputy Government Spokesman Ralf Bachmann. When asked by ADN he said that confidentiality had been agreed on the content and atmosphere of the talk, which came about with the agreement of both sides.

The MORGENPOST, which comes out in West Berlin, reported today about a "secret meeting" between the two politicians last Friday [30 March], which—according to the president's spokesman—had involved "intensive information" about everything concerning the GDR.

Modrow Stresses International Framework for Unity

AU0204125090 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] GDR Acting Prime Minister Hans Modrow has warned about the process of German unification becoming independent. At a function in Amsterdam today, the politician of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] said that it was important for this process not to be separated from its international surroundings. German unification could accelerate to a degree that there could be a single government before the so-called two-plus-four negotiations between the four World War II victors and the governments of the two German states were even concluded.

Modrow once again rejected unification through the GDR acceding to the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law, and said that such a procedure was unsuitable.

Modrow Gives Interview on German Unification

PM3003212490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Hans Modrow, head of the GDR "coalition government," by IZVESTIYA special correspondents S. Kondrashov and V. Lapskiy in Berlin; date not given: "Hans Modrow: 'We Are Not Going Empty-Handed'"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Berlin—In a short time H. Modrow's coalition government will give way to a new government headed by the Christian Democrats. The months packed with dramatic events which changed the destiny of the GDR are in the past. The outlines of its unification with the FRG are emerging increasingly clearly. What is the GDR taking into a united Germany? How does it see unification? What assessment can be made of the path traveled in recent months? Hans Modrow, who was elected to the new Volkskammer on the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] list, answers questions from IZVESTIYA's correspondents.

[Correspondents] How do you assess the domestic political situation in the GDR today?

[Modrow] The development of events in the GDR has passed through several stages since I became head of the government in November. In the first stage the democratization process proceeded at a rapid pace, clearing a way and space for itself. At the same time, at this stage, there was a growing awareness that the domestic political situation was rapidly losing stability. A new phase set in with the formation of the "roundtable," characterized by open access to democratic forces and transformations taking place in society. In January the development of events took a turn in which domestic political tension gave rise to the need to form a government of national responsibility. Talks were held on 28 January with the participation of all parties and movements that met at the "roundtable." A consensus was reached for the formation of such a government. It was able to strengthen stability and brought forward the date of the parliamentary elections to 18 March, having created all the necessary conditions for holding the elections. The elections took place—the first free elections in the GDR's history.

[Correspondents] What stages will the unification of Germany have undergo, and how long, in your opinion, will it take? What guarantees can there be against attempts to change the European borders?

[Modrow] The problems of unification are in the forefront. In November I proposed the creation of a contractual community between the GDR and the FRG. A short time later Chancellor H. Kohl read out his 10-point unification program in the Bundestag. In December we were still proceeding on the basis that the contractual community would be the first phase in the unification process and that it would develop into a confederation—that was the path we intended to follow. However, events developed in such a way that by January a new concept was needed. At the end of January, at the time of my meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, it was stated that the USSR does not intend to place any obstacles in the path of unification, on the condition that it takes place within the framework of the all-European process, guarantees European security, and does not affect existing borders. On 1 January I put forward an initiative, which I called "For Germany—a Single Fatherland." It outlined a phased process. Today the situation is such that there is no synchronization with the all-European process.

Whereas prior to the 18 March elections Chancellor Kohl was talking about a rapid pace of unification, it is clear to everyone today that what is needed is careful consideration, coordination of internal processes, the growing together of the two states, and again, synchronization with the European process. In this respect great significance is attached to the consultations which have become known as "two plus four." The position of our immediate neighbors must also be taken into account. Poland and France emphasize the need to maintain the inviolability of the existing borders, and demand guarantees on this point.

[Correspondents] During your latest visit to Moscow, three weeks ago, you said that in the course of phased progress toward unification, account must be taken of the GDR's unique socioeconomic, cultural, and spiritual nature, as well as the character of its international ties and commitments. What, in your view, will the GDR be taking into a united Germany? What advice would you give the new coalition government in this respect?

[Modrow] I will refrain from giving advice. The new government will form its own political concepts. I stand by what I said in Moscow, and also at the press conference in Bonn on 13 February. We are not going into unification empty-handed; the GDR can bring great material assets—the economy, land, the working people's high level of skills, and their zeal. The GDR's cultural assets are of significance not only for Germany, but for Europe and the whole world. We naturally expect our social achievements will also be taken into account in the process of unification, such as the protection of the family, the ramified network of kindergartens and creches, and young people's equal rights to education. All this should find a place in a unified Germany.

[Correspondents] At the present stage of the unification process not only has everyone accepted the so-called "two plus four" mechanism, which has begun to operate, but also what you could call the "two plus 33" mechanism, that is, all the participants in the all-European process who are interested in one way or another in the German question. Could you tell us, in a little more detail, what you think about this?

[Modrow] The "two plus four" mechanism envisages primarily that the responsibility for the unification of the two German states and their fusion rests on the two states themselves and at the same time on the four allied powers. After all, a peace treaty has not yet been signed, the task of creating a peaceful order still stands, and this is a subject under discussion between the two German states in the course of their unification and the allied powers. As I have said, this process cannot be separated from the all-European process. It seems to me that today it is necessary to make greater efforts to create suitable conditions for the holding of a "Helsinki-2" all-European conference. In the interests of the European peoples it is necessary to embark forthwith on concrete, constructive preparations for it. In the first instance it is necessary to devote efforts to the preparation and holding of the "two plus four" conference, and then, immediately after or— even better—in parallel with it, to prepare for "Helsinki-2."

[Correspondents] The unification of Germany will inevitably lead to changes in the structure of relations with the Soviet Union, which, as is well known, holds an important place in trade and cooperation with the two German states. How do you think these relations will develop in the future? How should they be changed and improved?

[Modrow] I would like to look at this question from the viewpoint of mutual interests, taking into account all three sides—the GDR, the FRG, and the USSR. For you, the GDR is the biggest economic partner within CEMA, while in the Western world the FRG is just such a partner for the USSR. Trade relations among the three countries have proved mutually beneficial in recent years. The mutual interest will persist in the future. The economy of the GDR, or of that part of a united Germany that our republic now occupies, will continue to have a very great interest in stable links with the USSR. The economic structures of our two countries have become so closely interwoven that any attempt to separate them will be seriously detrimental to you and to us. The Federal Republic, for its part, has always had an interest in possible markets, and primarily the Soviet market. This is what I think we must do: You in the Soviet Union and we in the GDR must not merely talk about the development of a market economy, but prepare really solidly for transferring the economy onto a new footing.

[Correspondents] What fate do you predict for the PDS, of which you are honorary chairman?

[Modrow] You are asking a question which time will answer. I am not a prophet. The PDS is basically a new party which holds an autonomous place in the GDR's political system as the third biggest political force. It is preparing to fulfill the role of constructive opposition and thereby to contribute to the resolution of the most important questions, first and foremost German unification and the switch to a social market economy in the GDR, and to express the interests of its voters. Reports have appeared in the press on the formation of PDS cells on FRG territory, but it is a question of small groups, in Hamburg for instance, and not an initiative on the scale of the entire Federal Republic. The question of creating a PDS in the FRG will be discussed in the next few weeks. At the same time discussions will be held between various left-wing forces in the FRG. At the recent German Communist Party [DKP] congress a process of rectifying errors and of renewal began. It would be premature to say today how relations between the PDS and the DKP will be structured.

[Correspondents] How do you see your own political future when you leave the post of premier?

[Modrow] This question is, for me, associated with a great many personal conflicts in recent weeks. It is no secret that I intended to end my political activity as head of the transitional government. However, at the First PDS Congress events took such a turn that I decided to submit my candidacy for the elections to the Volkskammer in Neubrandenburg district. I succeeded in winning 28 percent of the vote and getting into parliament.

Now a new phase is beginning in my political life as deputy to a freely elected parliament, and at the same time as representative of an opposition party. A new time of learning is beginning for me, and only some of the experience I have acquired will be of use to me. However, I think it will be useful in opposition. Our opposition will be reasonable and constructive.

Election Commission Prepares Local Elections

AU0304080990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Mar 90 p 1

[Report by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND editor Schulze: "Election Commission Admits More Members"]

[Text] Berlin—At its first meeting on the preparation of local elections on 6 May, the GDR election commission decided to carry out personnel changes. That was stated by chairperson Petra Blaess at a news conference in Berlin on Thursday [29 March]. The commission now consists of 51 representatives of 26 parties and organizations. Members of the Sorbs' representation, Domowina, and of the registered associations, the Peasants' Association and the Cultural League, were newly elected into the commission. Because inquiries and suggestions by the citizens about the elections have considerably increased, the relevant work group has been upgraded.

The election commission works according to a phased plan on managing the elections which will be held in municipalities, cities, city districts, and kreises. Petra Blaess said that the most important thing now is to give guidelines and organizational support to the lower election commissions of the 14 bezirks and Berlin.

She also mentioned a number of major differences to the People's Chamber elections in March. They include the right to vote for approximately 140,000 foreigners who have a residence permit for at least two years. Citizens' movements with democratic grass roots, citizens' communities that were formed for building repair shops, and individuals can also nominate candidates for the local elections.

It was also stated at the news conference that there would probably be only a few changes regarding the constituencies. As in the People's Chamber elections, they will total about 20,600. However, this time, every voter can only vote at his principal domicile.

Boehme Resigns SPD; Alleged Suicide Reported

Resignation 'Effective Immediately'

LD0204114590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1118 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The party chairman and group chairman of the Socialist Democratic Party, Ibrahim Boehme, has resigned from his posts effective immediately. This was announced in Berlin at a press conference today.

Alleged Suicide Attempt

AU0304073790 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 Apr 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "GDR SPD Chairman Boehme in Hospital After Suicide Attempt"]

[Excerpt] Frankfurt, 2 April—Ibrahim Boehme, chairman of the GDR's Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and of its People's Chamber group, has unexpectedly resigned from his party offices because of the continuing investigation of his State Security files. The politician's announcement, which was made in a letter to the SPD Executive Committee, caused great surprise and shock among the GDR SPD members. The SPD Executive Committee respected Boehme's decision. Deputy Chairman Meckel is to take over the office of SPD Chairman until the congress in about six weeks.

In the meantime, this newspaper has learned in Bonn that Boehme allegedly attempted to commit suicide last Friday [30 March] and suffered severe head injuries as a result. According to this information, Boehme is currently in hospital. So far, no more details about the kind of injuries he suffered or about his suicide attempt are known. [passage omitted]

Suicide Attempt Denied

LD0204174490 Hamburg DPA in German 1723 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The executive of the GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD] denied reports on Monday evening that the resigned party chairman Ibrahim Boehme had tried to commit suicide. "This story is wrong," it said in response to a question from DPA, but Boehme has suffered a physical breakdown. He was in a hospital over the weekend, as reported this afternoon in the press.

According to the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, Boehme is reported to have attempted to commit suicide on Friday [30 March], the day he examined his files for several hours in the Stasi headquarters. He suffered severe head injuries, the newspaper reported, quoting sources in Bonn.

Boehme has for some time had a serious condition in one ear, and in addition a heart complaint, the SPD headquarters said. On top of this there is great stress arising from the latest accusations. This has also led to the breakdown of the 45 year-old. Boehme is reported to be staying with friends at an undisclosed location.

Talks Not Affected by Boehme Resignation

LD0204160990 Hamburg DPA in German 1525 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the GDR has expressed regret at the resignation of Social Democratic Party [SPD] chairman

Ibrahim Boehme and at the same time stressed that coalition negotiations with the SPD will not be hindered as a result. "The CDU sees the negotiations as not being impaired", CDU press spokesman Ulrich Winz said in reply to DPA.

Winze stressed that Boehme's resignation must be respected. The former SPD chairman has his reasons. This new case of the resignation of a GDR politician suspected of Stasi involvement proves that "there are still forces present which want to harm the young democracy".

SPD on Coalition With the Alliance and Liberals

LD0304093790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0732 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR SPD [Socialist Democratic Party] is to begin coalition talks with the partners of the Alliance and the Liberals. This was announced this morning at an international press conference in Berlin.

Addressing media representatives, acting SPD parliamentary group chairman Richard Schroeder voiced thoughts on the distribution of ministries. Of interest for the Social Democrats are the areas of labor and social affairs, foreign policy, and questions relating to foreigners. Acting party leader Markus Meckel added that it would also be a good thing for the SPD to take on the areas of police, dissolution of the Stasi [state security services], education, science and research and culture. The SPD representatives declined to make definitive statements on this question, so as not to inform the coalition partners through the media prior to the start to coalition talks. "We are not going into the coalition with zero expectations", Meckel said. Schroeder added: "We have had a long discussion."

In answer to the question whether there had been an apology from the DSU [German Social Union], Meckel said that one had not reached the SPD. Such an apology would "improve the climate".

SPD Chairman 'Statement' on Coalition Talks

LD0304082290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0713 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the SPD [Social Democratic Party] news conference the acting party chairman, Markus Meckel, read out the following statement:

The presidium and the legislative group of the SPD in the People's Chamber on Monday [2 April] decided by a majority in a joint session in favor of starting coalition talks with the partners of the Alliance [for Germany] and the Liberals.

These talks must also discuss in principle the way in which the German Social Union (DSU) should be involved in government responsibility.

Whether the SPD enters a coalition depends on the following:

—How many of the SPD election platform statements go into the coalition agreement (this applies particularly to the social safeguarding of the economic and monetary union, 1:1 exchange, the rapid bringing into force of a new law on the constitution of enterprises, the taking into account of fundamental social democratic positions in Germany, and foreign policy.)

—What parties are to take on responsibility in what ministries.

—Which people are to take on the responsibility.

The final decision on the coalition agreement remains to be negotiated and so the decision on the entry into a coalition government lies with the SPD legislative group in the People's Chamber.

SPD on Possibility of Government by Easter

LD0304082890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0743 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Markus Meckel [Socialist Democratic Party chairman] did not rule out the possibility of the process of forming a government being concluded by Easter, if the talks continue as they have thus far with the CDU [Christian Democratic Union]. However, there could not be a hundred percent guarantee for that date. [Acting SPD legislative group leader Richard] Schroeder said that the SPD would feel badly about leaving the opposition to the PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] alone now, but the Social Democrats would also have been unhappy to go into opposition with the PDS and to have been "embraced" by it. [passage omitted]

SPD on Coalition With 'Alliance for Germany'

LD0204202290 Hamburg DPA in German 1829 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The executive of the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party] has come out by a large majority against coalition negotiations with the conservative 'Alliance for Germany.' The rejection is based on the involvement of the right wing conservative German Social Union (DSU) in a possible coalition. However, the SPD apparently remains open to a coalition with the CDU and Democratic Awakening (DA).

The acting party chairman, Markus Meckel, said on ARD [West German television], that there was a majority in favor of negotiations with the CDU alone. The presidium and parliamentary group executive are still discussing the party executive's recommendation. [passage omitted]

DSU To Be Represented in New Government

AU0204152490 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 30 Mar 90 p 1

[NZ/ADN report: "DSU Wants to Join SPD in Government"]

[Text] Hamburg—Peter-Michael Diestel, general secretary of the German Social Union [DSU], is convinced that both his party and the Social Democratic Party will be represented in the new GDR Government. The government is only a transitional government, he noted.

According to the general secretary, the 25 DSU deputies have made statements in lieu of an oath that they have never worked for the State Security Service. He opposed publication of the files, because "then there would be fratricidal strife."

CDU Group Proposes De Maiziere as Premier

LD0204125190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1203 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In its second session today in Berlin the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] parliamentary group proposed party chairman and parliamentary group chairman Lothar de Maiziere for election as premier. CDU press spokesman Helmut Lueck told the press in the lunch break of the consultations that the nomination took place in an open vote, there were no votes against, and five abstentions.

Lothar de Maiziere told the press that he had briefed the parliamentary group about the state of the coalition negotiations. Moreover the appointment of a parliamentary investigative commission on the question of possible activities of deputies with the former Stasi had been discussed. The discussion on this has not yet been concluded.

A large part of the discussion was taken up with a monetary union and the latest reports on this. De Maiziere said: "We are of the opinion that we made clear statements for our action on this before the election and we will stand by our word to our voters. We do not believe that there can be a possibility that deals with wages and salaries or even pensions at a ratio of 2:1."

CDU Welcomes SPD Coalition Talks Decision

LD0304085190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0756 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SPD's [Social Democratic Party] decision to enter coalition negotiations with the parties of the Alliance and the Liberals is sensible and good, CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Press Spokesman Helmut Lueck told ADN today, because in view of the massive problems and opposition with which the new government will be faced, a broad agreement in the legislature is needed. "The confrontations already visible now must not be exacerbated by parliamentary clashes."

The new government will have to act quickly and decisively. "In view of the tasks to be overcome, the oppressive mortgage of the past, and the level of expectations of the population, there was a great temptation to pursue politics in opposition," Lueck said. That meant that the readiness of the SPD for coalition negotiations is a decision which places political responsibility above party political calculation.

CDU Elects Chamber President Candidate

LD0204170390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1552 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union People's Chamber group elected the deputy Dr. Sabine Bergmann-Pohl on Monday as its candidate for the office of People's Chamber President. This emerges from a press statement regarding the second session of the group today. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere Opposes 2:1 Currency Exchange Rate

LD0204180490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1747 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christian Democratic Union Chairman Lothar de Maiziere once again spoke out in Berlin on Monday against a 2:1 exchange rate for GDR marks into Deutsche marks. At a news conference following a meeting of his party's parliamentary group, he made the following calculations: "The level of income in the GDR is about one third of that in the FRG. If there is an exchange rate of 2:1 then it would be one sixth, and if there was a corresponding change in the subsidies it would be even worse. The joint aim, I assume, must be to keep people in our country." In such a situation, this would be possible only with difficulty. "Every negotiating partner on the other side will have to bear this in mind," the politician demanded.

Modrow Defends 1:1 Mark Exchange Rate

LD0204162590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1542 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Amsterdam (ADN)—Speaking in a discussion in the Amsterdam "Global Panel" [not further identified] GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow defended an exchange rate of 1:1 in the planned German currency union. He who gave his word has to keep his word, he said, in reference to election promises from Chancellor Kohl. At present they are still only talking about currency union, but the main thing is the trinity of economic, currency, and social union. At an exchange rate of 2:1, with prices rising at the same time, many people in the GDR could no longer exist. Anyone who wants to bring about unity must create strategies which everyone can live with, said Modrow. [passage omitted]

Modrow Rejects Proposed 2:1 Exchange Rate

AU0204120890 Hamburg BILD in German 2 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with Premier Hans Modrow by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given: "Modrow: All Signals Indicate Strike"]

[Text] [Brinkmann] If the money is exchanged at a rate of 2:1, will the GDR citizens again go to the West in masses?

[Modrow] Certainly. It cannot be overlooked that the number of emigrants strongly decreased after the elections, and now it is on the rise again.

[Brinkmann] What should Bonn do?

[Modrow] Kohl should say a clear word on the 1:1 rate. However, I assume that the people who recommended the 2:1 exchange rate did not do this on his instructions. Because in the confidential talks of the two negotiating committees the exchange rate has not been discussed at all, as far as I know.

[Brinkmann] But the chancellor says that in the election campaign he did not promise an exchange rate of 1:1.

[Modrow] Oh, come on! He promised it again and again. The voters clearly understood it in this way. The election result is the result of these promises and nothing else.

[Brinkmann] Will there be a hot spring in the GDR, with strikes and demonstrations?

[Modrow] All the signs are certainly there. The FRG Government will then bear full responsibility. The FRG now must know that it has to act.

State Bank Claims 1:1 Conversion Rate Essential

LD0204153390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1504 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The preservation of the real value of the savings of GDR citizens justifies, in the view of the State Bank directorate, a conversion of GDR marks into D-Marks at a ratio of 1:1. In a statement passed on to ADN on Monday, the body warns against the broad devaluation of savings planned by the Western side. This will result in "unacceptable social effects." A conversion of salaries, wages and other income is only acceptable in the ratio of 1:1. With the ending of price subsidies and other social compensation payments, the different incomes of GDR and FRG employees means that there is already a disparity of 50 percent. Every additional lowering will further reduce the motivation of the GDR citizens to work. When setting the conversion rate for industry, account has to be taken of the competitiveness of enterprises.

Democratic Farmers Party Rejects 2:1 Conversion

LD0204224490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1842 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany (DBD) has condemned the proposals of the Federal Bank on currency conversion as an attempt by the FRG to move away from the 1:1 arrangement proposed before. A statement published in Berlin on Monday goes on to say that the 2:1 recommendation "was disturbing" and caused one to conclude that people were playing with the idea of "transforming the territory of the GDR into an area of low wages and cheap goods." [passage omitted]

Trade Unions Protest Mark Conversion Rate

LD0204130790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1235 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Demonstrations and protest campaigns in the next three days are meant to be the reply from the 8.6 million GDR trade unionists against the two to one conversion rate in the monetary union, announced by the Bundesbank, and the accompaning social cuts. This appeal was made by the acting executive of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation], the trade union umbrella organization, at an international news conference on Monday. Strikes should also remain a possibility if results cannot be achieved by any other means. In a letter to Federal Chancellor Kohl the FDGB resolutely condemns the irresponsible and insufferable speculations about the monetary union. A conversion rate of one to one is called for both for savings accounts and wages, salaries and pensions.

An appeal was addressd to the People's Chamber, which meets for its first session on Thursday, to look after and protect the interests of GDR citizens in the monetary union.

Speedy Unification of Trade Unions Advocated

AU0204150890 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Mar 90 p 3

[Text] Franz Steinkuehler and Hartwig Bugiel, chairmen of the FRG and GDR Metal Workers Industrial Trade Unions respectively, came out in favor of speedy unification of the two trade unions at a meeting with hundreds of employees of the Barkas Works in Karl-Marx-Stadt. A corresponding application will be presented to the central delegates conference of the GDR Metal Workers Trade Union, which is planned for April. In Bugiel's view, the unification is useful only if the trade union is strengthened by it. Steinkuehler stressed that the trade unions must not just react to the things others want. They must, much more, offer alternatives themselves. He again advocated a unified trade union. All splitting groups and split trade unions should be categorically rejected.

Anti-Stasi Demonstrations in Dresden, Magdeburg

LD0204205790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1953 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Public demands increased on Monday that there should be investigation of newly elected deputies and holders of important public office for possible incrimination through contacts with the former State Security Service (Stasi).

Several thousand demonstrators in Dresden this evening expressed their dissatisfaction about the "still ever-present power of the Stasi". They marched, sounding rattles and horns, to the former area headquarters of the Ministry of State Security, in order to express their support for the citizens' committee working there. [passage omitted]

After almost three months of breaks from demonstrations, hundreds of residents of Magdeburg also called for an examination of the 400 newly elected deputies. The Alliance '90 organized the demonstration. [passage omitted]

Inquiry on Stasi Internment Camps Under Way

LD0204150990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1422 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The senior military prosecutor is starting preliminary proceedings against unknown persons for crimes against humanity under paragraphs 91 and 94 of the penal code, the press office of the GDR prosecutor general announced today. The investigations are being carried out on the basis of documents discovered by the committee for the dissolution of the former State Security Ministry. They refer to setting up isolation camps during so-called periods of conflict or during defense alerts.

The preliminary results of the investigation, which were derived from territorial enquiries, prove the intention of its authors, in extraordinary circumstances, to place politically unpopular GDR citizens in isolation camps, the communication notes. "As yet there is no evidence to show that the plans which were discovered were actually used. Further investigations are designed, among other things, to trace the corresponding central directives in order to ascertain and make a thorough examination of the responsibility of those involved under criminal law." The GDR prosecutor general will inform the public in full after the investigation is concluded. [passage omitted]

GDR-Israel Society To Deepen Relations

AU0204213990 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 31 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "GDR-Israel Society Founded"]

[Text] Berlin—The GDR-Israel Society for Understanding and Cooperation will hold its founding meeting at the Academy of Sciences today [31 March]. It wants to work for establishing and deepening friendly relations with Israel in the sense of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the CSCE process, and will in particular contribute to the peoples of the GDR and Israel getting to know each other.

Berlin Rabbi Meets Officials, Resumes Work

AU0204214890 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 31 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Israelite Community Has Restored Highest Authority"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—Eliezer Ebner, from Israel, rabbi of the Israelite Community at Berlin, paid his first official visit to the GDR Government on Thursday [29 March]. Lothar de Maiziere, vice premier for church affairs, welcomed his guest with "shalom" and expressed his happiness and satisfaction that this law-abiding Jewish community has a rabbi as the highest religious authority again. [passage omitted]

Conversion of State Banking System Begins

LD0204105390 Hamburg DPA in German 1028 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—The conversion of the banking system will begin on 2 April. The State Bank is therefore relinquishing its branches and is assuming—like the Bundesbank—the function of the supreme currency custodian. According to earlier information from President of the State Bank Horst Kaminsky, it will be independent of the government and will be committed in particular to the stability and the protection of the currency. The new Central Bank will control the economy's money supply and the liquidity of the commercial banks. It will be responsible for fixing minimum deposits for the commercial banks and is to fix the interest rates for loans. [passage omitted]

Aid for Future GDR Enterprises Offered

AU0204152890 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Mar 90 p 3

[Text] The FRG Association of Medium-Sized Enterprises (BVMW) wants to provide future GDR enteprises with aid to help themselves. This was stated by BVMW President Helmut Becker in Bonn. In the GDR it will be necessary to newly found or reactivate about 300,000 to 400,000 medium-sized enterprises over the next two years, which would create about 3.5 million jobs. The BVMW has established a computer-aided cooperation office, where already more than 500 addresses of interested persons in the GDR have been stored.

Border Troops Attacked by 'Hooligans' in Berlin

LD0204143190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1406 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—Members of the GDR border troops were repeatedly attacked and injured, some of them seriously, on Sunday evening and night by hooligans. The border troops' Koenigs Wusterhausen command announced on Monday that youngsters had tried illegally to pass through the GDR state border outside the border crossing points at the Reichstags embankment and near the Heinersdorf village, Zossen district. In both cases the border troops were brutally beaten with stones and other objects when checking the identity and turning back some of the youngsters. Subsequently the culprits withdrew to the territory of West Berlin.

The possibility that the violent elements were trying to evade the exposure of serious criminal acts cannot be excluded, the border troop command said.

Antiterrorist Unit To Include Former Stasi Agents

AU3003190390 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] The GDR Interior Ministry is currently setting up an anti-terrorist unit. This unit will consist of 150 men, most of them special agents of the disbanded State Security Service [Stasi]. A ministry spokesman said that it was necessary to set up such a unit because the danger of attacks was increasing even in the GDR as a consequence of open borders. He added that the former Stasi members were accepted into the unit with the consent of the roundtable.

Students Demonstrate in Various Cities

LD0204161590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1455 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Thousands of students from universities, colleges, and specialist schools throughout the GDR demonstrated today for the right to be involved in policy decisions for securing their interests and against the threat of social cutbacks. They followed a call from the Humboldt University Student Council. In Berlin about 5,000 marched through the city center to the Town Hall and to the Ministry of Education. In an open letter to the city council, they demanded, among other things, financial support for the living conditions of all students, including affordable dormitories.

Several hundred Leipzig students of the Karl-Marx University, and of colleges and specialist schools, held a meeting at which they rejected the lifting of restrictions on admission to GDR universities and colleges. This would mean that the teaching facilities would be oversubscribed, a university Student Council spokesman said. [passage omitted]

There were also student demonstrations in Erfurt, Halle, Neubrandenburg, Potsdam, and other cities.

FRG Competition Said Threat to Local Newspapers

AU0304122590 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 30 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Existence of GDR Press Publications Threatened"]

[Text] East Berlin—In its session on Wednesday [28 March] the Media Control Council again emphatically called on the acting GDR Government to work for establishing an open, competitively neutral, press distribution system which is independent of publishing houses. As ADN was told on Thursday, the Council is extremely worried by the fact that some West German and West Berlin publishing houses offer their proucts in the GDR at a currency rate of exchange of 1:1. This subjects the press publications of the GDR publishing houses to a competition, which pushes them from the market and threatens their existence. The Media Control Council shared the view of the management of the Gruner and Jahr publishing company and the FRG Association of German Newspaper Publishers (VDZ) that uncurbed competition must be prevented. The press release continues by stating that Gruner and Jahr and the VDZ expressed their readiness to the Media Control Council to use their influence so that all FRG and West Berlin publishing companies offer their products at a currency exchange rate of 1:3 for a transitional period and limit themselves the number of newspapers and magazines that they deliver. The Council expects all FRG and West Berlin publishing companies to adhere to this.

Suspension of Travel Accord With Turkey

LD0204150690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1414 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR has formally asked Turkey to suspend indefinitely the implementation of the agreement lifting visa requirements between the two states. A decision on the principle of the agreement is to be left to the new GDR government. Reports to this effect have come from the Foreign Ministry in Berlin today.

This step has followed intense protests from the Federal Government in Bonn, which has expressed considerable misgivings about the possibility of unchecked entry by Turks into the Federal Republic via the GDR and has spoken of an "unfriendly act" by the acting government in Berlin.

The agreement, signed on 28 March, envisaged the introduction of visa-free traffic between Berlin and Ankara with effect from 27 April.

Criminal Officers Association Convenes

AU0304103390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "Protection Against Weapons and Drugs"]

[Text] East Berlin—A future monetary union between the two German states will probably give rise to new forms of criminality in the GDR. To find on a timely basis effective ways of protecting people from property offenses, economic offenses, and weapons and drug smuggling is the task of the GDR Association of Criminal Officers. This was unanimously stated at the first regular meeting of the association in Berlin on Saturday [24 March]. About 500 experts from all over the country elected the lieutenant colonel of the criminal police, Uwe Baier, head of the Criminal Office of Berlin-Pankow, as president of the Association of Criminal Officers. The association, which was founded in the middle of January, also adopted a preliminary program and statutes. The association will decide in a democratic strike ballot before 30 May whether it should ultimately become a professional association or a trade union.

Currently the association numbers over 5,000 members, two-thirds of all criminal officers. Uwe Baier stressed the need of developing as soon as possible efficient cooperation between criminal officers in the East and West in the interest of ensuring the people's legal security.

Final Figures for 25 Mar General Election

LD0204181190 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—In the March 25 elections, a total 5,083,086 voters cast their ballots on regional party lists. The valid votes numbered 4,911,241, and the annulled ones 171,845.

The following is the breakdown of votes:

	Number	Percentage
Hungarian Democratic Forum	1,214,359	24.73
Alliance of Free Democrats	1,050,799	21.39
Independent Smallholders' Party	576,315	11.73
Hungarian Socialist Party	535,064	10.89
Federation of Young Democrats	439,649	8.95
Christian Democratic People's Party	317,278	6.46
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	180,964	3.68
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	174,434	3.55
Agrarian Federation	154,004	3.13
Entrepreneurs' Party	92,689	1.89
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	91,922	1.87
Hungarian People's Party	37,047	0.75
Hungarian Green Party	17,951	0.36
National Smallholders' Party	9,944	0.20
Somogy County Christian Coalition	5,966	0.12
Hungarian Cooperative and Agrarian Party	4,945	0.10
Independent Hungarian Democratic Party	2,954	0.06
Freedom Party	2,814	0.06
Hungarian Independence Party	2,143	0.04

Free Democrats Head Holds News Conference

LD0204224990 Budapest MTI in English 1843 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—The competition between the candidates of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) was much closer in the individual constituencies than on the regional lists. The HDF candidates polled 23.43 per cent in the constituencies, and the AFD candidates 22.45 per cent, AFD Executive Balint Magyar told a press conference in Budapest on Monday.

In some counties, the candidates of the Alliance fared better than the forum's. In the 32 individual constituencies of Budapest, for instance, 30.73 per cent of the ballots were cast on AFD candidates and 28.17 per cent on HDF candidates, Mr Magyar said.

Then Mr Magyar spoke about the agreements the alliance concluded for the run-off of the parliamentary elections. He said the agreements were first concluded between the local organizations and then reconfirmed on county level. The only party with which the AVD surveyed the local agreements on national level was the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD), Mr Magyar said.

The Alliance concluded agreements with the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) in Bacs-Kiskun, Bekes, Borsod-Abauju- Zemplen, Hajdu-Bihar, Pest, Tolna and Vas counties.

The Free Democrats are to cooperate with the Young Democrats, the Independent Smallholders and the Christian Democratic People's Party in each constituency of Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County.

The AFD and the FYD concluded agreements on mutual support and on withdrawing their candidates in one another's favour both in Budapest and in all counties.

In two constituencies of Somogy County, the alliance will cooperate with the Democratic Forum, Mr Magyar said.

SZDSZ News Conference on Elections, 'Scandal'

LD0204190390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] [Announcer] At today's SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] news conference, not only the election results and future prospects were discussed, but also a scandal. More details from Laszlo Gatai:

[Gatai] Another asset-salvaging operation after the Next 2000: the Hungarhotel and Springer case. But before these were discussed, Janos Kis, chairman designate of the SZDSZ, analyzed the election results thus far received from a different angle. The first rounds resulted in a close contest between the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] and the SZDSZ, he said, but if we examine individual electoral districts, the difference between the two parties does not even reach one percent. According to the results, the MDF collected 23.43 percent, while the SZDSZ collected 22.45. In certain places, if we look at the individual electoral districts, even the ranking had changed. For example, in Budapest, the SZDSZ gained 30.73 percent, while the MDF won 28.17 percent. The picture that emerges, therefore, is much more complex, as has already been indicated in several reports, Janos Kis said.

Outside Budapest, in nine counties agreements were reached with FKGP [Independent Smallholders Party] or MDF candidates. For example, in Somogy, where Gyula Horn was also a contestant, the SZDSZ candidate stood down, and they are supporting the MDF candidate; while in Siofok, the MDF candidate stood down in favor of the SZDSZ candidate. In the county of Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg, an agreement for the whole county had been reached between the SZDSZ, FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party], and the FKGP. The national agreement between the SZDSZ and FIDESZ has already been reported.

Last week's negative impact was the so-far largest asset-salvaging operation: the Springer case. The SZDSZ objects to the negotiations about the sale of newspapers, parliamentary candidate Matyas Orsi said. Janos Kis added to this by saying only that the SZDSZ had no objection to the influx of foreign capital, but they do not consider it desirable that a press monopoly should be created in Hungary. Therefore, similar to the frequency moratorium [as heard], they recommend the introduction of a so-called press moratorium as well.

Parliamentary candidate Alajos Gorbach, who is also a solicitor, informed journalists that the Metropolitan Court declared the asset-transfer contracts of the Next 2000 and (?Cimbriana rt) to be not valid. The test case was therefore successful.

It is already certain that the latest asset-salvaging operation will continue at the courts. The Malomipari Vallalat [milling industry company], together with an FRG company, formed a joint venture company with initial capital amounting to 5 million forints. The Hungarian company took with it the Gerbeau building, and, according to the contract signed with the FRG company without a penny, will receive in perpetuity 75 percent of the annual profits from the luxury hotel, which will be generated by the conversion of the office building. The negotiations were conducted in complete secrecy, so it is no surprise if this secrecy gave grounds for other suppositions.

Candidates Withdraw in Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg

LD0204154990 Budapest MTI in English 1452 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—In Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County, fifteen candidates have withdrawn from the April 8 run-off of the parliamentary elections.

Zoltan Fekete, secretary of the regional electoral committee, told MTI that the most withdrawals were registered in the constituencies where less than half of the electorate had turned up for the first round on March 25.

Electoral Alliances Formed at County Level

LD0204171790 Budapest MTI in English 1551 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—In Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok County, the local organizations of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) and the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) formed an electoral alliance for the run-off on April 8, activists of the two parties told the press in Szolnok on Monday.

In two constituencies of Szolnok, the FYD members will support AFD candidates Zoltan Hortobagyi and Tamas Fodor, while in Karcag Mihaly Varga, a FYD candidate, will enjoy support from the alliance.

The AFD concluded a temporary agreement with the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP). Accordingly, the AFD will support ISP candidate Bela Mizsei in Jaszapati, and the Smallholders Tamas Fodor in Szolnok.

Democratic Forum, Others Form Electoral Alliance

LD0204164590 Budapest MTI in English 1520 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party formed an electoral alliance in Gyor- Sopron County, HDF board member Lajos Fur told the press in Budapest on Monday.

The local party organizations laid down in a detailed agreement who would withdraw in whose favour.

Television Shows Party Debate on Economy

LD0204214890

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1935 GMT on 2 April carries a 73-minute discussion program attended by representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Hungarian Socialist Party, and the Independent Smallholders Party. The participants discuss the topic of the country's economy, and air views on how to approach the problems of inflation and unemployment, matters related to privatization and the acquiring of foreign credit, and the fate of the present enterprise managers and specialists.

At the end of the program, the announcer states that contrary to the original schedule, there will be no party debate on Tuesday; however on Wednesday 4 April, representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats will face one another in a televised debate on budapest television service from 1900 GMT. There is no set subject for debate; viewers' questions can be sent in on 4 April from 0600 to 1400 GMT.

MDF Outlines Plans for Economy, Privatization

LD0204143890 Budapest MTI in English 1324 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—"When the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF—MDF] gets into government, it will have to take some immediate measures in the economy for which it has already made the necessary arrangements," Peter A. Bod, economic consultant to the HDF Presidium, told journalists on April 2.

"First of all, an inventory of the country's external and internal debts as well as the progress of privatization should be taken. During this work, the HDF wishes to rely equally on independent specialist groups and foreign consultants.

"It also wishes to use the assistance of international banks and monetary circles, foreign governments and private banks to preserve the country's solvency.

"Backing large companies becoming insolvent as CEMA markets collapse will fall within the government's scope," Mr Bod said.

He considers it a top priority to curb inflation, something which should be helped by reinforcing budgetary discipline, transforming interest policy and expanding credits to entrepreneurs.

The legislature should enact a new law on land ownership and privatization as soon as possible, he said.

The HDF plans to restore land ownership to peasants.

Lajos Fur, member of the HDF Presidium, says that the process will be based on ownership relations prevalent in 1947.

The village population will be given the option of choosing whether they wish to reclaim the land they owned in 1947, or accept material compensation in lieu.

Should they choose the latter, compensation would naturally be paid only after the Hungarian economy achieves some degree of recovery.

As regards privatization, the standpoint of the HDF is that money from state property sales should go into a separate fund. This would then finance ownership shares by workers of companies sold off, cover unemployment benefit, and restore run-down companies.

Jozsef Antall, HDF president, feels that in three or four years' time, the proportion of state property will have fallen back to 30 percent from the current 70 percent.

New Radio Program Features Political Analysis

LD0204174990

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1630 GMT on 2 April broadcasts the first installment of a new political background and analysis program on Budapest Radio entitled "Extra" [Raadas]. It is a 30-minute program, lasting from 1630 to 1700 GMT, and is expected to be broadcast Monday through Friday.

Today's program is devoted to a review and analysis of the Romanian revolution and the ensuing 100 days. The topic is handled as follows:

1. The announcer talks on the telephone to Peter Marvanyi, Budapest Radio's correspondent in Bucharest. (6 minutes)

2. Discussion with studio guest (Mihaly Fueloep), of Hungary's Institute of Foreign Affairs, who also speculates about the outcome of the Romanian elections. (8 minutes)

3. Geza Jeszenszky, MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum), and Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, SZDSZ (Alliance of Free Democrats), talk about their parties' hopes and efforts to solve the ethnic problems in Romania. (7 minutes)

4. Miklos Keleti reports from Paris on French official and social organizations' reactions to Transylvanian events. (2 minutes)

5. Report by Eva Cseh, just back from Timisoara, interviewing local people about their attitude toward development and to the trials, among other topics. (4 minutes)

De Michelis in Hungary for Cooperation Talks

AU3103132790 Rome ANSA in English 1016 GMT 31 Mar 90

[Text] (ANSA) Budapest, March 31—Preparation for a new stage in Italo-Hungarian relations with the birth of the new government here, even as the two countries are about to take part in several important summit meetings, is the focus of a brief visit here by Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis.

De Michelis, who arrived in Budapest Friday evening, noted that there would be an April 9th summit in Bratislava between Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, with Italy, Austria, and Yugoslavia attending as observers, which would seek to delineate a new cooperation framework for Central Europe

Also to be pursued was the quadrilateral Adriatic-Danubian Cooperation Initiative opened in Budapest last November. The scheme was seen as a model for cooperation among nations (in this case, Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, and Hungary) having differing social, economic, and political characteristics.

Speaking to newsmen last night prior to his meeting with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, De Michelis said it was important to have an exchange of views between Rome and Budapest prior to these upcoming summits.

Italy was pleased with the fact that Hungary was moving toward a market economy, De Michelis stated.

In order for Rome and Budapest to make a greater contribution to the consolidation of a new order in Europe, the two countries must strengthen their economic ties and balance their bilateral trade picture. Italy had a 209,521 million lire deficit in its trade with Hungary in 1989.

On a bilateral level, Italy is working to concretely implement the three agreements that were signed during Horn's visit to Rome in January and it was noted that Italy recently granted Hungary a 200 billion lire credit line.

Friday evening, De Michelis also met with the president of the Social Democratic Party, Anna Petrsovits, the head of the Alliance of Free Democrats, Janos Kiss, and the president of Democratic Forum, Jozsef Antall.

In the March 25 voting, the Democratic Forum garnered 24.7 percent of the ballots and the Liberal-Democrats 21.3 percent, thus pulling far ahead of the party of Small Proprietors (11.7 percent), and the former communists of the PSU (10.8percent). The Young Liberals and the Christian Democrats also went beyond the 4 percent quorum.

Only after the second round of balloting on April 8 will it be possible to know the real balance of strength among the various political forces which will determine the future of the alliances which will be necessary in parliament.

Secretary Kovacs Interviewed on Policy Issues

LD3104023090 Budapest MTI in English 0819 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 3 (MTI)—"No matter what form of coalition will be in Hungary, it will have to continue the same stringent economic policy pursued by the government under Miklos Nemeth. And in the process, it will need assistance from abroad at any rate," says Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state for foreign affairs, in an interview carried by the Tuesday issue [3 April] of the daily MAGYAR HIRLAP.

The secretary of state thinks that in future Hungarian foreign policy, four areas will be given top priority: these are balanced relations with neighbouring countries, catching up with Europe, links with the developed countries, and balanced relations with the two great powers.

Mr. Kovacs gave a definite negative answer to the question of whether President Landsbergis had contacted the Hungarian Foreign Ministry to request the recognition of Lithuania's independence. He added that no official position had been passed on the recognition of Lithuania, as it had not been on the agenda so far. The issue of Lithuania's independence should, however, be settled through negotiations and by constitutional means, with taking into consideration the interests of all the parties involved. The use of force or provoking it should be avoided.

In connection with the government decision that the Hungarian Airlines continue carrying Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union to Israel, Mr. Kovacs said: "This has not been a final solution to the problem. Part of the solution lies in involving both Aeroflot and El Al in the transport. A long-term solution would be the reassuring settlement of the issue."

In connection with the French proposal to EEC foreign ministers for easing visa regulations relating to East European citizens in place of a previous reluctance to deal with the matter, the secretary of state had the following to say: "the recent turnaround in the French Government position was obviously influenced by the East European changes and the fact that two of her NATO and EC partners—Italy and the FRG—had completely cancelled visa requirements. France apparently did not want to be the last."

Horn Letters to Romanian Counterpart Published

LD3003225190 Budapest MTI in English 2216 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 31 (MTI)—The Saturday issue of "NEPSZABADSAG" publishes, for the first time, the three letters which Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn addressed to his Romanian colleague over the past months. "NEPSZABADSAG" notes that the letters were made public now in view of the fact that the Romanian Foreign Ministry announced this week it has prepared a "package plan of a constructive nature", about which it is ready to begin genuine talks with the new Hungarian Government.

The article recalls that Mr Horn submitted a package covering all areas of relations in Bucharest, just a few days after the December turn, the now published letters refer to this.

The first letter, written on January 23, recalls the principal agreement reached at the foreign ministerial meeting in Bucharest on December 29. Under its terms, the Romanian side—cooperating with the Hungarian side—will do everything possible in the interest of eliminating the immeasurable damage caused to the ethnic Hungarians in Romania and to Hungarian-Romanian relations by the earlier nationalist Romanian policy. Examining the events of the past period the letter states: There is a major difference between the high-level Romanian declaration and the genuine cooperation intention.

The second letter, dated February 3, forwards the anxiety of the Hungarian public over the inducing of an anti-Hungarian mood in Romania, and stresses: The consultations to date prove that the difficulties caused by the Romanian dictatorship can be overcome with open and sincere dialogue and reciprocal goodwill.

The third letter was written on March 2. Among others, it notes that the minorities, Hungarians, Jews and others, were seriously maltreated in Tirgu Mures and in other places. The letter notes with regret that the Romanian leadership has not as yet found the means for taking a public stand against the anti-Hungarian manifestations, and for firmly and consistently opposing the dark forces well-known from history. The letter calls for tolerance, and expresses the conviction that normalization of the Hungarian- Romanian relation cannot be delayed, in view of its significance that goes beyond the region. However, it can be placed on lasting bases only with a settlement that accords to the European norms.

In the commentary to the letters, "NEPSZABADSAG" notes that the Hungarian foreign minister raised, in the most concrete manner, various issues that can contribute to rising above the inheritance of the past. Budapest embraced proposals in which not even the slightest trace of doubting the territorial-geographical status quo can be found, and which, at the same time, are not willing to be blind to the fate of the Hungarians in Transylvania.

However, practically no progress has been made in any single major issue. There is no Hungarian university, no chief consulate in Cluj-Napoca, and so on, notes the commentary in "NEPSZABADSAG".

Writer Andras Suto on Tirgu Mures Events

LD3003224990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1910 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The day before yesterday, we broadcast an interview with the Romanian Premier, Petre Roman, in our New World program. [passage omitted] After the statement from Roman Petre, we spoke to Andras Suto, who now replies to a few allegations made by the Romanian premier.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] I know you are still tired, and your serious injuries hinder your speech, yet you are still prepared to speak about what is happening now in Transylvania, in Romania. I would like to put a few questions in connection with Roman Petre's statement in New World. [passage omitted] How do you evaluate the judgement that the problems in Transylvania started with 15 March?

[Suto] Well I think that the information in Mr Petre Roman's hands originates from a different world, not from where 1848 was celebrated, where we celebrated it, in Transylvania. There is no questions of tens of thousands of Hungarian tourists visiting us. On the contrary. The visit was very, very sparse. Where most people appeared was in Szatmar, where there were also scandalous incidents. There were not too many there, either and they did not cause any kind of unpleasantness or upheaval. I myself have twice heard the account of the Szatmar police chief, which sounded sincere, according to which the Hungarian tourists did not cause any kind of complications. Thus this claim, with all respect to the premier, but I must say, this claim, to say the least obscures the truth, is a falsification, is not true. [passage omitted]

I did not experience any indication, in Marosvasarhely that the Romanian population's feelings were offended by what happened. Those few Petofi poems which were heard did not offend them, that single wreath decorated with the Hungarian national colours, which was placed at our shrine by the Bucharest Hungarian ambassador or rather his envoy, did not offend them. All this happened in the greatest order, calm, peace. As a consequence, this assertion does not correspond to reality either.

[Reporter] The other observation made by the premier was that things started when the Magyars, he said, and I quote his words, threw knives, and stones from the Tirgu Mures headquarters of the Democratic Alliance of Magyars of Romania. [passage omitted]

[Suto] Yes, well one must express a more summary opinion about this. This is such a great lie, one could lean against it. This is how the Szeklers say it, when something is a really big lie. But naturally I assume that the premier was informed so by other persons, who have an interest in this pogrom, and he did not look into this, obviously, or he could not look into this, into the background of things.

Anyone could assume that a group of 60-70 Magyars in Tirgu Mures, hemmed in, forced up into the attic, cannot be so stupid as to make any kind of aggressive move which would endanger their own lives, against a baying crowd of 4 to 5,000 out in the street. Not only did we not throw knives, or grab stones, we endeavoured not to give even a sign that we were in the attic, thus for example, we specially arranged that our friends should not look out of the ventilation openings, because if anybody in the crowd out there saw a single face, the shout went up, "There they are! Bring them out so we can hang them!" It would have been completely senseless for us to give any kind of sign that we were there. This was quite unexpected, we were surprised by this enraged, ranting and raving Romanian crowd, demanding blood and lives.

[Reporter] Were they from Tirgu Mures?

[Suto] They were partly from Tirgu Mures, and partly from the countryside. Romanian peasants brought in on buses mainly from the Romanian villages in the Girghiu [said as Goergeny] valley. They were armed with pitchforks, piercing and cutting tools, and chains, which obviously they wanted to use against somebody. As it transpired, we were the ones against whom they used these, when at around 2130 in the evening, we were forced to comply with the request, the appeal, of the local military commander, Colonel Judea.

[Reporter] Was he there?

[Suto] Naturally he was there, I myself talked to him about how we could leave the building, and he himself warned us that if we did not leave the building, they would maybe set it on fire even within minutes, and then we would be burned inside because we could not escape from there. This is why we were forced to make an agreement with him, and accept his guarantee, according to which he, with his soldiers and police would protect our lives. In practice, all that happened was that he stayed with us for two or three steps after we came down a few steps from the attic, and from them on, we went out in single file to the military truck amid the blows and kicks of the Romanian crowd which had penetrated into the rooms of the headquarters. There, a few soliders were supposed to protect our lives from the surging and baying crowd behind them. As we started out from the gateway to the gate, to get onto the military truck which Colonel Judea and General (Scrietciu) had brought out for us, the two soldiers who were, as they say, guaranteeing our lives, that is Judea and (Scrietciu) disappeared from alongside us, and the soldiers who before had made some kind of weak chain by holding hands, simply let go hands, and from behind them, the whole frenzied crowd, armed with every kind of hitting and cutting tool, flung themselves onto us, who were in the truck by then. For a few minutes, they hit and stabbed, beat whowever was in the firng line, then, it was as if they had never been there. They jumped off and the military truck started off with us, straight to the casualty department.

It is characteristic, as I could note, that despite the fact that I asked Mr Judea for a military truck which was not covered, but had some kind of solid covering at the sides, front and back, so that they could not get to us so easily, this military truck had is canvas already slashed, by the time we got down, so these murderers easily lifted the strips back and thus flung themselves onto us. [passage omitted]

Well, briefly this is how things hapapened; according to the premier, we provoked the fury of the crowd which had been screaming at us for hours.

[Reporter] In the interview, Judea was also mentioned, and the premier said that he did not have a military post [passage omitted] What sort of role did this infamous Judea played in Tirgu Mures?

[Suto] I could not quite formulate this precisely. However, what I know clearly explains the reasons why the hysterical crowd was able to carry out a pogrom.

Mr Judea operated as the chairman of the city council and he could only be seen in the uniform of a colonel. During the break in to the headquarters of our Democratic Alliance by half-drunk and drunk people hysterical with rage of killing, I heard that he kept calling them my children, my sons, and it is possible that they would have listened to him if he would have stopped them, but I did not notice this.

Prior to this, for days, Mr Judea was the main commentator and spreader of a fake pamphlet which originated in America and which advocated quasi border revisionist ideas. We have ascertained that this leaflet was a fake because it was made in 1988 but they tried to make it seem as if it had been sent in March 1990 from America to Tirgu Mures. I protested against this on Romanian radio. It was easy to see that the date was forged from 88 to 90. In connection with this, Mr. Judea disseminated the idea among the young people, in certain youth organisations, among police circles, and naturally within the organizational network of Vatra, that, behold, what are the Hungarians plotting: no less than the separation of Transylvania. This determined the attitude of the crowd to a very great extent.

[Reporter] The enquiry is still under way, the premier said that it will be found out, who were the instigators.

[Suto] In the town, the series of demonstrations causing anxiety was organized by the Vatra organization, which also calls itself a cultural organization. The Romanian television, the central broadcast from Bucharest itself was a great help in this, and also ROMPRES. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Is it conceivable that the situation will deteriorate? What do you expect, after what happened?

[Suto] It is conceivable that the situation will deteriorate if the government behaves in the same uncertain manner as it has done so far, and especially if the government will give credence in the future too to the masses of lies, according to which Magyardom behaves, aggressively anywhere in this country demanding its rights, which is obviously untrue. [passage omitted] The extreme rightwing effort, which questions every right of the Magyardom of Romania, has become the most aggressive and the strongest in Tirgu Mures, and after all, everything was due to this. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Hungarian Ambassador in Bucharest on Events

AU0204103790 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Mar 90 p 1

[Demeter Pogar report on interview with Pal Szuts, Hungary's ambassador in Bucharest; place and date not given: "What Will the Investigation Commission in Tirgu Mures Conclude?]

[Text] Contrary to his promise, Romanian Premier Petre Roman has not yet contacted Miklos Nemeth. We called up Pal Szuts in Bucharest to find out whether he succeeded in contacting the Romanian leadership. Pal Szuts said he did not succeed in contacting them on 22 March, and, for its part, the Romanian Government has not yet tried to make contact with the Hungarian diplomatic representation in Bucharest.

In his interview given to NEPSZABADSAG, Pal Szuts said that demonstrations were held in front of the Hungarian Embassy all day long on 22 March, and therefore, the Embassy employees did not leave the premises. At the Hungarian's request, the guarding of the Embassy has been increased. Pal Szuts also said that he did not notice any extremist or chauvinistic manifestations during the morning demonstrations with the participation of 350 people, or the afternoon demonstration with the participation of some 1,500 people. These demonstrations were organized by the Liberal Party and the University trade unions.

During the morning hours of 22 March, Pal Szuts received a delegation of demonstrating students and intellectuals led by a professor. In the course of the exchange of views lasting for some one and a half hours, the members of the delegation showed a shocking lack of information, and they based their positions on the statement issued by the Romanian Government. They were surprised to hear that Hungary did not intend to change the existing borders between the two countries and that they were in fact forcing an open gate with their slogans demanding Transylvania for themselves. The delegation asked Pal Szuts to declare his position—which was new to them—publicly on Romanian Television. In the afternoon, the delegation returned with a television crew and Pal Szuts gave a 30-minute interview. In his interview—which was promised to be aired in the evening hours—Pal Szuts pointed out the absurdity of issuing an official government statement prior to concluding an investigation on the circumstances of the pogrom in Tirgu Mures. He asked what if the investigating commission came to a different conclusion than the one in the government statement. Is it possible that the Romanian Government will withdraw this statement, just like its previous decisions on abolishing the death penalty and banning the Communist party?

Pal Szuts personally accompanied the visitors to the Embassy gate. He was greeted with applause and some people threw flowers into the Embassy. "We Also Think the Same"—a slogan said.

Answering a question put by NEPSZABADSAG, Pal Szuts did not exclude the possibility that the government in Bucharest would withdraw its statement. He said that, according to his information, the government commission investigating in Tirgu Mures—a commission which also has a Hungarian member—is unbiased, and one can assume that it will come to a different conclusion than the current Romanian position.

Pal Szuts, who has not slept for three nights, also said that, despite life threatening messages sent to the Embassy's employees, he sticks to his conviction, and he calls upon the Hungarian media to calm the people when possible, and refrain from inciting passions further .

Another group of demonstrators arrived to the Embassy in the evening, and read a joint declaration of the Liberal Party and the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania, a declaration also signed by Geza Domokos. In Pal Szuts' view, this declaration "could bring progress" in solving the conflict.

Handling of Tirgu Mures Unrest Criticized

AU0304093390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Mar 90 p 3

[Peter Vajda editorial: "The Time for What?"]

[Text] When one reads that demonstrators in Bucharest are shouting the slogan: "We Are Not Giving Transylvania Away!", one wonders whether one is not being taken back in time by a time machine. There is a familiar saying that, if history repeats itself, what was a tragedy the first time, becomes comedy the second time. However, there is no guarantee that this is really the case. One must accept the fact that something can also be tragedy the second time. Events in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] prove this and also the need to avoid an even greater catastrophe by means of a responsible policy.

Of course, such a policy means sobriety for the benefit of reconciliation, sobriety obligatory to all. In a period of worldwide telecommunications revolution, any rashly expressed ambiguous word can easily be blown out of proportion and, in such a time, it is easy to generate high tension. It is the task of the Romanian Government to discover those responsible for the atrocities in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] and to draw the necessary conclusions. What is worrying Budapest is the fact that they allowed the anti-Hungarian atrocities to occur although Bucharest had been warned about such a possibility well in advance. Everyone knows what happened and what did not happen in the wake of this warning. No steps were taken, and the anti-Hungarian violence was allowed to rage. The noticeable change in the tones of the world press also shows that we are not the only ones who have drawn the conclusion that the government in Bucharest was unable, or, for some reason, did not want to guarantee order, an order based on the law. In addition, the recent declaration of the Romanian Government confused things and put the blame on Hungarians influenced by Budapest, that is, on the victims. (Western reports agree that 80 percent of the wounded are Hungarians.) If one reads the Romanian Government statement, one can understand what we heard first from the AFP report, namely that, when he heard it, Kiraly Karoly, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Provisional National Unity Council, "fell into a rage and distanced himself from the government position." The statement of the Romanian Government also speaks of the incendiary effects of Hungarian history and geography schoolbooks which, with a few exceptions, have not even reached their destination in Romania!

What the aforementioned statement fails to include is at least as disturbing as all this. There is no mention of the Iron Guard lynchers armed with clubs. While, according to international law, this organization should be placed outside the law, it appears that they are very well, thank you. The Romanian deputy chairman of the Provisional National Unity Council said that leaflets with the words "The Time Has Come" had been carried by the wind in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures]. For whom has the time come? For what has the time come? If the time has come for the Iron Guard to be allowed to print, mutilate, and lay fires freely, both literally and figuratively, the authorities are also to blame for this. This responsibility cannot be blurred with accusations.

The Romanian leadership might have its domestic policy problems, but it cannot solve these problems by making concessions to blind elements of the extreme right, elements that appeal to wild instincts and people who would like to expel the Hungarians from Transylvania. The right wing cannot be overtaken on the right side anywhere, and the chauvinists cannot be put off by assisting them or by outbidding them. Nobody has succeeded in this so far.

Romanian County Police Sign Accord

LD0204172290 Budapest MTI in English 1646 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Budapest, April 2 (MTI)—The police authorities of Romania's Bihor County and Hungary's Hajdu-Bihar County concluded a cooperation agreement on Monday [2 April], Colonel Imre Papp, chief police commissioner of Hajdu-Bihar County, told the press in Debrecen on Monday.

The joint efforts are encouraged by the imminent danger of organized smuggling and the fact that both states lie on a route of international drug trafficking.

Mr Papp said that the recent period had witnessed an alarming increase in crime, particularly juvenile delinquency, in Debrecen.

Lithuanian Border Reportedly Closed by Soviets

LD0304105190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] We have received the following report from Bialystok: This morning at 0900 [0700 GMT] the Soviet side closed the border crossing in Ogrodniki in the Suwalki region. This is the only Polish-Lithuanian border crossing. Polish citizens and Soviet citizens likewise can still return to their countries through this border crossing, and business transportation and travel can also take place, but a Soviet visa is required.

Scheduled coach services to Vilnius have been cancelled.

We received this information a moment ago from Colonel Zdzislaw Jakubiszyn from the Podlasie-Mazury Brigade of the Border Guard Troops (WOP).

KPN's Moczulski: 'Jaruzelski Must Go'

LD0204212690 Warsaw PAP in English 2043 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April (PAP)—"The current situation in Poland is determined by three elements: First, the time is over when one could speak about society's political unity against a common enemy—totalitarianism. Second, totalitarianism fell but there is no democracy yet. Third: The country has found itself at the cross-roads and now the nation must choose a definite democratic road while feeling responsible for the state," leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) Leszek Moczulski said today.

"We will take part in elections to local self-government and I believe that we will be the main center-right force. We will take part in different alliances but this will depend on local conditions," he added.

"We demand that fully democratic parliamentary elections be staged in autumn. We will represent a coherent center-right program opposite to government's center-left program," he stressed. "We will go to win these elections and to create a center-right coalition government."

In response to one of the questions, Moczulski said that in such a government, KPN would man ministries of economy, internal affairs and defense.

Moczulski opined that a new president should be elected still this year. "Wojciech Jaruzelski must go," he said, "and he should be replaced by a man who would enjoy the support of the main part of society. Among politicians, only Walesa can be taken into account, though he represents a different political line than KPN. In the case of presidential elections we must go beyond particular interests of one party and reach the level of responsibility for the state.

Skubiszewski on Foreign Policy Issues

LD0204201290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by unidentified reporter during a break in the Council of Ministers session in Warsaw on 2 April]

[Text] The Council of Ministers is in session in Warsaw, discussing foreign policy and the results of the visit of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the United States and Canada.

During a break in the meeting, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, the foreign affairs minister, gave an interview to journalists.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Minister, can one expect new elements in the foreign policy of the Polish Government this year, and will there be any reassessment?

[Skubiszewski] As a matter of necessity there will be new moments [as heard]. The issue of Germany has concentrated the attention of many politicians on the need to create a new system of European security, and to move away from a system based on alliances, particularly multilateral alliances. The second point is our attitude toward cooperation with Western Europe, all in the economic sphere. Poland will, I hope, start talks shortly on an agreement on association with the EEC.

[Reporter] Do you think that in international relations Poland is a petitioner, or is she an important element that can influence the fate of Europe and the world?

[Skubiszewski] I don't think we can influence the fate of the world, nevertheless the changes in the political system in Poland are causing great interest in various countries of the world.

[Reporter] But the strength of a country is defined by its economy, we are still very weak economically.

[Skubiszewski] Here I must mention what you described as the role of a petitioner. Such a role does, alas, exist too. We are trying to counterbalance this, with what I have just mentioned. But not just this, we have a very important strategic position in Europe, and in our foreign policy we must aim at transforming this geostrategic position to our advantage.

So far this position has tended toward being a satellite, but now this must be reversed. We are a petitioner, however, and we shall continue to be for a long time in various economic areas, for instance, in our striving to get a reduction in our debt, or a reduction in the interest payments. These are difficult problems anyway. [end recording]

Polish-German Ties 'Imperative'

LD0204201390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by unidentified reporter during a break in the Council of Ministers session in Warsaw on 2 April—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Minister, can we expect any new features in the government's foreign policy this year, or will there be some reassessment?

[Skubiszewski] This is a question of a (?common) position regarding our policy in Europe, our European policy; that is, our policy in relation to the new system of security in Europe, where we want to make our contribution. This is very important, regardless of the German question, although the German question has concentrated the attention of many politicians on the need to create a new system of security in Europe, to move away from a system based on alliances, particularly multilateral alliances. The second point is our attitude toward cooperation with West Europe, above all, in the economic sphere. Poland will, I hope, begin talks shortly on an agreement on association with the EEC. This will be a far-reaching association, if we take into account what was said on this subject by the chairman of the European Commission, Jacques Delors. Well, what's the problem? This concerns the policy of Poland's position, the confirmation of Poland's role in general continental solutions, and at the same time, policy in relation to our neighbors, which is very important by its nature, but which is also a bilateral issue. Therefore, partnership, relations based on genuine and good neighborliness, on equal rights for both sides, the improvement of the community of interests that has developed in recent years with the USSR. [sentence as heard] On the other hand, relations with a unified Germany, since we are already thinking not so much of relations with two German states—they still exist, and they must be conducted—but we must also anticipate and take into account relations with a unified Germany. There is, therefore, a question here of the regulation of many issues; that is, with every neighboring state, but above all, of the building of a certain community of Polish-German interests. That is imperative.

Council of Ministers Discusses Foreign Policy

LD0204214490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers today [2 April] discussed the foreign policy plans for this year. One of the main directions of the activity of the government, in the sphere of foreign relations for this year, is the new policy of the external security of the state, which strengthens the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Poland in accordance with our vision for all-European structures of security and a decrease in the role of armed force in international relations.

It is the government's intention to expand the political, economic, cultural, and civil bonds with West Europe, particularly with the EC and the Council of Europe, but also with the United States. Regarding relations with the Soviet Union, we will strengthen this partnership based on equal rights, sovereignty, mutual respect for interests, and respect of the agreements made. All ideological remnants will be removed (?from them).

Concerning German matters, it is regarded as a priority task to initiate the construction of the Polish-German commonwealth of interests [wspolnota interesow] with a definitive treaty recognizing the border on the Oder and Neisse by a unified Germany.

Poland will strive to deepen and expand cooperation in all spheres with Czechoslovakia and Hungary. We will develop cooperation with the states of the Baltic basin, particularly the Scandinavian countries.

Efforts will be undertaken to maintain and use effectively the economic assistance that has been granted to our country. At the same time, efforts will continue to resolve the problem of Poland's debts, primarily their reduction. We will aim to renegotiate the conditions for repayment of our debt to the Soviet Union.

Polish foreign policy will continue to be characterized by being nonparty, nonideological, governed by law, pragmatic, and open. It will be based on morality and international law.

Solidarity Releases Draft Congress Document

AU2903074190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA (special supplement) in Polish 23 Mar 90 pp 1-4

[Resolution of the Second Congress of Delegates of the Solidarity Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union issued by the Presidium of the National Executive Commission on 17 March; place not given]

[Text] This draft was worked out under the leadership of Aleksander Labuda, chairman of the Programmatic Commission, on the basis of the materials prepared by problem teams, documents submitted to the Commission, and the Commission's deliberations on 17 March 1990. By the decision of the Presidium of the National Executive Commission of 20 March, this draft serves as a basis for the programmatic debate scheduled for the Second "Solidarity" Congress.

I. [Roman one] "Solidarity"—Tradition and Present

The "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union marked the beginning of a movement that assumed many forms. The twin farmers' union is establishing its political identity. Civic Committees are functioning side by side with our union. There are "Solidarity" people in parliament and the government.

1. August 1980 and the Program of the Self-Governing Republic

The Union was born during the summer and autumn of 1980 out of workers' strikes, which ended in social accords. It arose out of a desire for life in a well-managed country and out of a protest against communist rule. It derived its strength from the revolt against the exploitation and waste of human work, the violation of the rights of individuals, the enslavement of society, and the ignoring of national traditions.

The memory of the 1956 Poznan uprising, December 1970, and the repressions in Radom and Ursus were kept alive during the above-mentioned revolt. This revolt combined the experience of October 1956 and March 1968 with the experience of the Workers' Defense Committee, the Free Trade Unions, peasants, intelligentsia, and young people. It expressed the principles of independence, the social teachings of the church, and an adherence to Christian values. Finally, it expressed the European traditions of freedom and democracy.

In the face of the crisis, the union attempted to protect those in the weakest material situation, and called for universal social security. It demanded a market-orientated reform to the economy, political freedoms, truth in public life, impartial courts, and a humanization of work. Presenting a vision of a Self-Governing Republic, it appealed to the government to conclude a new accord.

2. "Solidarity" Underground

The communist authorities replied with martial law. The union's activity was first banned, and then deleted from the legislation. Protest strikes and actions were suppressed with the help of the Army and militia. People were killed and wounded. Thousands of activists found themselves in internment camps and prison.

The "Solidarity" movement went underground. Society became united by opposition, put up by well-known union activists and anonymous members, apartment owners, link-men, printers, publishers, journalists, distributors, photographers, film makers, radio people, and broad strata of people who staged rallies and boycotted official institutions. The union reestablished its broken links; it formed underground factory, regional, and national bodies, as well as representations abroad.

During the years of martial law and police rule, the Union remained faithful to its basic values. It did not apply force, and its leaders continued to propose dialogue for the sake of repairing the country. "Solidarity" survived because it was deeply rooted within Polish society; because of support from Western societies, trade unions, and governments; and finally because of the support of the church, which became personified by Father Jerzy Popieluszko.

3. The Collapse of Communism

Martial law failed to solve Poland's problems. The communist powers preserved their hold over the state apparatus, but they found themselves in domestic and international isolation. "Solidarity" won moral and political prestige, but because it was underground, its scope of action became limited.

The crisis in the ruling camp and the political transformations in the USSR served to break the impasse. The October 1987 decision for the national leadership to resurface was a step forward for the union; the leaderships of some union chapters and numerous factory committees followed suit. The strikes in the spring and summer of 1988 marked a watershed. They made the authorities recognize "Solidarity" as a representation of Polish society, and set in motion a chain of events that led to the roundtable, the legalization of the Union, the emergence of civic committees, the "Solidarity" victory in the parliamentary elections, the cancellation of the coalition setups in the Sejm, and the appointment of a noncommunist government.

The totalitarian system which the communists had imposed on our country collapsed. Poland now had a chance to strive for independence, establish a democratic social order, and return to Europe. This chance is now bigger as a result of the collapse of the system in the countries of the communist bloc.

4. The Union as the Instigator and Participant of Democratic Changes

The union's objectives, organizational structure, and methods of action took shape during the conflict with a totalitarian adversary. In its aim to change the system, the union became a social movement. Its local organization was a reaction to the economic and political centralism in force. Its members became opposition activists and conspirators. Their work methods were pressure, strikes, demonstrations, and a hasty winning of concessions. All this was forced upon them by an adversary who broke accords and refused honest dialogue.

Communism is disappearing, its place being taken by the rule of law and democratically elected authorities. Private employers are emerging. The union was the chief instigator of these changes. But in order to preserve its victory, it must adapt its objectives, organization, and methods of action to the new democratic environment.

Remaining a social movement, the union will take part in the reconstruction of Poland's political and economic order; but it will attach priority to a defense of workers' interests and rights.

The restructuring of the economy will bring a multiplicity of conflicts that have not been known before. Adapting itself to this situation, the union will see to the activation of factory committees. It will see to it that there is a freedom to establish bodies at above factory level, and that there are flexible possibilities for union organization at regional and national level.

Without giving up the right to strike, the union will aim to settle disputes by means of negotiations and accords. Such a method of action requires trained activists, the services of specialists, and access to essential information.

Opposing the role of a worker as a passive instrument, the union is in favor of the expansion of various forms of workers' democracy. Therefore it will see to it that trade unions have the right to take part in the formulation and implementation of the law and the reaching of economic decisions.

II In the Face of the Changes in Poland and Europe

The message from the First National Congress of "Solidarity" Delegates to the working people of East Europe is being fulfilled. The countries of the communist bloc are becoming democratic. We welcome these changes with joy, and in the hope that they lead to a Europe of open borders, fraternal societies, and free people.

The programmatic declaration of the First National Congress of "Solidarity" Delegates reads: "The supreme objective of the 'Solidarity' Independent and Self-Governing Union is to create dignified conditions for life in an economically and politically sovereign Poland. The point is to have a life free of poverty, exploitation, fear, and lies, in a society that is democratic and subject to the rule of law. We are approaching this objective today, but many efforts and sacrifices are still ahead of us."

1. Faith in Values

We desire in our country the realization of such values as truth and freedom, justice and the rule of law, tolerance and a rejection of force, and solidarity with those who are unfortunate and persecuted. The union is establishing its ideological identity around these values, giving priority to human dignity and work.

Forty years of communist rule causes the people and nation mortal, political, and financial harm. The union demands compensation for this harm in accordance with the truth, the law, and a feeling of justice.

Ahead of us are conflicts connected with a rivalry between political forces, a contest between social interests, and the changes to the economy. We wish to settle these conflicts within the framework of the law and democratic political culture.

2. A Democratic State, Civic Society, Market Economy

The union's basic statutory aim is to protect the rights, dignity, and interests of workers. The fulfillment of this objective is only possible under a new political and economic order. In the present situation, the union is faced with three main challenges. The union will take part in creating and protecting the democratic system in Poland. It will back efforts to build an efficient economic system. Aware of the social cost of the political changes, the union will aim to minimize these costs while defending the interests of workers.

Taking part in the work of repairing the Republic, we wish to shape a democratic state, civic society, and an economy that is market-based and consists of various forms of ownership. Only such a Poland will assume its rightful place in the family of European countries.

We are in favor of a state system which, on the basis of the Constitution that has been adopted following a public debate and international pacts on civic and political rights, will assure citizens political freedom within limits that are essential for a stable and effective system of government.

Democratic ideals are fulfilled by a civic society. The union encourages the creation of such political and social institutions that permit political activity and effective participation in running the state.

Implementing the principle of a Self-Governing Republic contained in the program of the First Congress, the union supports the development of local democracy as a condition for the permanence of the democratic changes in Poland.

The emergence of political parties is a natural and necessary expression of society's differentiation. We consider it possible to cooperate with organizations that extol values similar to our own.

Variant A: The union does not rule out the emergence of its own political representation.

Variant B: We oppose the formation of political parties within our union and based on union bodies. Political groupings should act on their own account.

The union takes part in public life as a separate force, independent of the political parties and national and local authorities implied in variant B. In the parliamentary elections, it will nominate its own candidates or back others. Government by the rule-of-law is a condition for democracy in the state and the social energy of citizens. The law must guarantee the impartiality of the legislature, inalienable rights for citizens and ethnic and religious minorities, and the equality of every inhabitant of our country before the law.

The Polish economy must be based on patterns that have proved themselves in the highly developed countries, patterns which ensure an increase in the standard of living of the general population. The chief burden of responsibility for the change to the economic system rests on parliament and the government. The union will back the restructuring of the economy, but it wishes to assess and influence the path of this restructuring in accordance with its mission, which is based on the protection of work and workers.

The restructuring of the Polish economy should aim toward a market economy, which combines a legally-controlled freedom to acquire capital, undertake economic initiatives, and employ people, with the possibility of state intervention in order to adjust any market mechanisms that are imperfect.

An overbearing, inefficient state sector is the chief obstacle to the development of market competition. Therefore we consider it a priority task to carry out multifaceted changes to state ownership, for the sake of more effective forms of ownership. On the other hand, those state enterprises that continue to exist should acquire independence and submit themselves to the rules of the market, on a par with other economic units.

The changes to state assets should be carried out in accordance with the law and the principles of economic accountability, under the supervision of state institutions, social organizations, and workers' representations.

Workers should be able to participate in the making of decisions concerning work organization, the use of factory assets, changes in employment, and the selection of personnel. The union will back workers' initiatives aimed at expanding workers' democracy inside work places, on the basis of various forms of ownership.

In state enterprises, the workers' self-management body is one of the union's partners. The union is aiming to reactivate these bodies and take part in the running of factories by nominating its own candidates for the workers' councils.

The process of transformation should contain room for various forms of workers' ownership. The Union is striving to create conditions for this ownership that are accessible to working people.

III Defending Workers' Interests and Rights

The need to restructure the Polish economy is a necessary, but a very painful process for the working people. The union wants this process to take place without unnecessary losses and sacrifices.

1. The Right to Work

The union intends to fight unemployment and declares that the phenomenon of unemployment is socially harmful. However, one has to accept that a significant number of working groups will periodically find themselves unemployed as a result of the rationalization in the structures of employment and the collapse of many factories. The appearance of a labor market that will demand a great deal of professional mobility is likely. The union's task will be to create conditions that favor this mobility and to strive for an effective system of social security for those who are made redundant.

The union's representatives (from factory committee level upwards) should be active in any negotiations on the conditions relating to redundancies, such as, information of impending redundancies to be given as far in advance as possible (this will facilitate long term agreements), length of the obligatory notice period, financial assistance to retrain, freedom to negotiate the size of any termination payments, the opportunity of being offered alternative work, and the possibility of being able to negotiate the number of hours in the work week and salary levels, with the aim of maintaining present levels of employment.

The Union will strive to:

—Resolve the financial problems faced by enterprises through increased production, restructuring, but not through the employee lay-offs;
—Organize intervention systems, develop home services and possibilities for work at home;
—Negotiate credit on preferential terms for those who have been made redundant and who want to undertake economic activity on their own account;
—Create new employment positions through the activities of its appropriate agencies (The "Solidarity" Fund and the Economic Foundation);
—Create a Union Fund for Employment Protection that will seek to promote new employment possibilities and act in an intermediary capacity;
—Agree on the conditions for the early retirement of older workers who are threatened by redundancy and, if possible, strive to fill any vacant positions with young people.

The union will demand to see full details of central and local government projects for restructuring industry and other spheres of the economy. We must strive to make full use of the professional capacity that we have. In the future, when the labor market stabilizes, it will be necessary to negotiate the local and national unemployment levels based on the forecasts of the labor market. This will help in preventing future unemployment.

With this aim in mind people at every organizational level of the union who will be charged with the task of fighting unemployment and Employment and Protection of Employment Bureaus will be set up to coordinate activity to protect the right to work and opportunities.

The main burden of responsibility for providing social security for the unemployed rests with the state's central and local administration. "Solidarity" will participate in the process of shaping the state's social policies and their implementation. On the local government level, initiatives to improve the protection of the unemployed are essential. At all levels, the union will involve itself in the work of employment centers and actively participate in the work of employment councils which are intended to have a large measure of autonomy in the sphere of elaborating and implementing programs to fight unemployment.

The organizational system to combat unemployment and its effects must provide the following:

—Regulations on redundancies which are favorable to the employee;

—Union supervision of the justifiability of specific redundancies, with the right to prevent such redundancies;
—Possibilities to seek alternative employment. In the future this will be made easier through the creation of union employment exchanges (including payments of social security to all redundant Union members), and of appropriate insurance agencies;
—Analysis of the changes taking place in the labor market and an active support for retraining schemes;
—Finance to set up job retraining centers from central and local government, union, and factory funds;
—A flexible nature for the available social assistance for those unemployed (the minimum level of such payment should reflect an agreed social minimum);
—Certain differentiation which will reflect the age, the length of service, and family situation of people who have been made redundant, or are unable to find employment after finishing their studies.

2. A Just Salary

Variant I: "Solidarity" must have a clear policy on salaries. Apart from the union, the other partners involved in this sphere are the employers, central, and local government. The basic threat to real salary levels is inflation. We shall negotiate with the government with the aim of reducing inflation. An essential element of salary policy is the level of the basic minimum salary which ought to be higher than the minimum social income. This should be negotiated by a national commission.

The union wishes to see a simplified salary system. Salaries should be composed of a guaranteed rate and additional rates. The guaranteed rate will reflect the fact of employment at a particular workplace. Additional rates should be based on productivity, work quality, and the financial performance of the particular enterprise.

The guaranteed rate levels ought to be negotiated by factory commissions against the larger framework of union, sector, and regional agreements. The levels should periodically be negotiated.

The factory commissions must strive to eliminate all preferentials when fixing guaranteed rate levels throughout the salary scales of the particular enterprise by strictly defining the relevant factors which have to be considered when fixing these rates.

The union must strive to achieve the result that gives the highest possible percentage of the guaranteed salary rate in the total salary. This will eliminate the risk run by the employee (reflected by the additional salary rates) of being too financially dependent on the results of his enterprise. The average worker has no real chance of influencing these results.

Other methods must be used to protect salaries in the state sector. The main problem here is that the salaries should correspond with salary levels in the production sector. We intend to negotiate simplified salary regulations with the Labor Ministry. After the state budget has been balanced, it will be necessary to negotiate acceptable indices of remuneration. These will then apply to the guaranteed salary rate in the state sector. In conditions of economic stability we have to see that state enterprises become partially self-financing. The union will support those remuneration solutions that permit freedom to apply the salary fund. This will form the additional salary rate element in state sector remuneration.

Variant II: The effects of inflation are destroying the economy and our household budgets. That is the reason why the union has not pursued a policy of full salary indexation and has accepted the government's anti-inflationary program. An essential part of this program is to slow down the salary spiral.

The period of salary freeze must be used by factories to rationalize their salary structures, improve the organization of their production, and form their managerial teams in order to prepare themselves for the new economic realities.

The freeze on salaries is regarded by the union as a temporary measure. The freeze has stripped salaries of their motivational element. We are waiting for the government to put forward a salary policy that will link salaries to work results.

The union intends to pursue a salary policy that is based on the following factors:

—The salary level should depend on the quality of work (the professionalism and the relative difficulty), and on the just division of enterprise income into salaries and profits;
—The salary levels should be periodically negotiated on various levels; namely, the national, the regional, the sector, and the factory level. They should be accepted by trade unions, employers, and central and local government authorities;
—The enterprises must be able to elaborate their own salary structures;
—The remuneration structures should be simplified. The principle is that, on the one hand, labor forms a constant part; namely, it stems from the fact of being employed and is based on the agreement between the representatives of the employees and the employer. On the other hand, labor forms a component that can vary; namely, it is a factor of productivity, quality of work, and the economic performance of an individual enterprise. In negotiations at national level, the union will strive to secure a minimum salary base for the whole country and this ought to be higher than the minimum social income. In negotiations at sector level, the union will strive to secure a more advantageous salary level that will then apply across that particular sector. On the factory level, the union will strive to match the salary levels directly referable to the results of that enterprise. It will strive to keep the

guaranteed salary rate percentage as high as possible and see that the additional rates are awarded according to strict guidelines.

In the name of salary justice we are opposed to the employment of people on drastically worse terms than those that apply to the rest of the work force, people who do not have the same rights as the rest. At present, this concerns people who are paid by the Employment Office, former convicts, pregnant women who have not worked before, and specialists for whom there are no vacancies. The same situation applies to prisoners, students in factory training establishments, soldiers, and Voluntary Labor Brigade members.

Fundamental changes have to be made to the salary scales in the state sector. We are waiting for the Labor Ministry to raise the indices of remuneration, simplify the system of salary regulation that will allow for inflation, and introduce freedoms in the way the salary fund is applied.

3. Protection of Working Conditions

Acting to prevent the deterioration of conditions at work, the union wants to create an effective system that will protect work conditions and put a higher emphasis on prevention rather than the system of penalties and damages; namely, a system based on international standards. The union will see that these standards are applied by the joint cooperation of employers, the state, the workers and their social representatives.

It is the state's responsibility to set up organizations that will protect employment, to formulate appropriate labor legislation, to intervene in the economy by the use of economic instruments, and to initiate campaigns of education and information. The union will try to influence government policy in these spheres.

The main organ of supervision and coordination of state activity in the sphere of improving work conditions should be the State Labor Inspectorate, which is to have the function of supervision and education through advice, training, and schooling. These could also be provided for trade unions.

In the legislative field we would like to see the following:

—The inclusion of an article in the Polish Constitution on the right to safe work that will not be harmful to health;
—An agreement to ratify International Labor Organization conventions on the protection of employment;
—The adoption of legislation on the protection of employment that will give trade unions the right to supervise conditions of work in those factories where union members are employed and put a duty on employers to inform their employees of any dangers at the workplace, the source of the hazard, and its effects on health;

State intervention using economic stimuli to ensure that employers react accordingly, should seek to:

—Separate the accident and occupational hazards insurance contribution element, and scale the level of insurance contributions according to the level of occupational risk; introduce a policy of taxation, finance, and duties which takes into account the criteria of health and safety at work against the background of actual work conditions.

We are waiting for the creation of a fund for the protection of employment that will be supplemented by, among other things, financial penalties for breaches of health regulations, and payments from preventative insurance funds. This fund will also support the government's education and information policy on health and safety hazards at work.

Medical care in enterprises ought to concentrate on education and prevention (frequent checks), and treatment of occupational hazards. The employer should be legally responsible for the efficiency of the factory medical services and meet the cost through the various insurance schemes.

The union will seek to persuade the government to set up a system of incentives that will ensure a high level of interest at work in the existence and the functioning of the Social Inspectorate of Labor [SIP], an institution that seeks to prevent economic losses. The amended legislation on SIP ought to put this institution under the exclusive control of the trade unions.

In the employment protection sphere "Solidarity" will take the following steps:

A. On the national level, it will open an office for employment protection. This office will be run by a national coordinator and will:

—Define union policy on employment protection;
—Cooperate with the appropriate state institutions and foreign organizations to monitor conditions at work;
—Coordinate the office's regional and factory level branches;
—Elaborate draft resolutions of the National Commission on employment protection;
—Educate and prepare educational materials;

B. It will create regional offices for employment protection and these will give legal advice, assist in making appeals, and coordinate activities of the local SIP organs. It will try to create such organs where none exist, and form factory employment commissions with the joint participation of the management, unions, and SIP representatives;

C. It will organize the collection of information for research and analysis of occupational hazards and undertake preventative actions based on the results and make representations to the appropriate state organs on conditions of work.

The union is ready to cooperate with all organizations and institutions that seek to protect the employee at his work place, including organs that specialize in hazard prevention measures.

4. Health Care and Insurance

The structure of health care requires profound reorganization. It should be elaborated against a general system of obligatory national insurance that gives the employee the right to opt for partial or alternative insurance schemes.

Insurance payments that are financed from contributions made by the employee and the employer, as well as those paid by local government should, along with state guarantees, ensure an adequate basic standard of medical care.

Employee insurance should ensure that members of the employee's family who are maintained by that employee can use medical services. The Social Insurance Office should pay contributions on behalf of recipients of old age and disability pensions, and local government bodies should do so on behalf of persons who lack a fixed source of maintenance and who receive support from local social welfare funds.

The level of contributions should be confirmed by the Sejm, acting on a joint proposal made by the finance and health ministers.

The principles for partial and alternative insurance require separate solutions arrived in conjunction with the union.

Preventative and rehabilitative care as well as treatment should be fully accessible and be provided in the place of residence with the right to choose one's doctor. Preventative care should encompass all employees.

Department health centers, which operate according to special rules, should have functions that are limited to the prevention of occupational illnesses. Alternative group insurance programs provide for the operation of medical facilities that are financed out of workplace funds with respect to running costs and with investment in such facilities being financed out of insurance payments as well as budget subsidies.

The union will negotiate the extent of benefits covered by general and alternative insurance as a party to the necessary agreement between the state and society.

In accordance with International Labor Organization conventions no. 102 and no. 118, all citizens should have the right to social benefits that are guaranteed by a modern insurance system that is tailored to the economic changes that are taking place in the country.

Changes need to be made to the system for providing old age and disability pensions. It should guarantee a decent standard of living for elderly people, people who are unable to work as a result of disability, as well as for children whose guardians have died. It is essential that old age and disability pensions are revised so as to eliminate unjustified disparities in benefit levels, as well as other wrongs arising from current regulations.

Adjustments have to be made to:

—the conditions in accordance with which benefits are awarded;
—the granting of equivalence for periods of time that are then included in calculating periods of employment;
—the principles for determining the level of benefits;
—benefit supplements;
—minimum and maximum benefit levels;
—entitlements for those who work under special conditions and whose work is of a special kind;
—uniformity and differentiation in entitlements for various social and occupational groups.

There also has to be a debate on the functions that individual benefits are to perform. In particular, negotiations have to be held on the subject of the level of and the conditions for the awarding of family benefits and child-rearing benefits. The structure of the latter should be changed; growing unemployment being one of the reasons for such changes.

5. Protecting the Standard of Living

The fall in the value of wages and benefits in real terms, shortages of goods, and the poor quality of services curtail the right to leisure time and rest, as well as access to culture and have resulted in a general decline in the quality of life in Poland.

The union will negotiate for wages that will make overtime unnecessary. Work will have to be organized more efficiently in terms of the day, the week, and the year. The right to a five-day work week should not reduce access to all kinds of services, and work performed by service sector employees on Saturday and Sunday should be compensated for by the granting of free time on other days of the week or the granting of free time on a monthly or annual basis.

We are in favor of the temporary maintenance of the factory social fund. Factory agreements should regulate the level and use of the social fund and the use of social facilities.

We consider it essential that the Union periodically compute a minimum income. Wages, pensions, and unemployment benefits should not fall below this minimum.

The union strives for better living conditions for persons who do not have an adequate income. In particular, the question is one of obtaining a social benefit for persons who are unable to work, but are not entitled to benefits that are based on insurance.

The union will cooperate with social welfare organizations and support social self-help initiatives.

Factory commissions will provide assistance to employees who are departing and are to receive old-age or disability pensions. The commissions will help them to maintain ties with their workplace, see to it that they have opportunities to rest, and provide former employees with assistance when they find themselves in difficulties.

IV. The "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union Is a Modern Trade Union

We are living in a time of transition: Fundamental changes are being made to state and public institutions, the principles of economic management, and the rules according to which politics is conducted.

While remaining loyal to the "Solidarity" tradition, the union will adapt its methods of operation and organizational structures to suit changing conditions and the new tasks that we face. In order to be able to perform these tasks, the union will strive for an appropriate legal framework for union activity.

1. Concerning a Constitution on Union Freedoms

The present trade union law should be discarded. It curbs union freedoms and does not satisfy the institutional and economic requirements of contemporary Poland.

We want the new law on trade unions to be a constitution on union freedoms that confines itself to brining such freedoms into line with the Constitution of the Republic, international agreements, and International Labor Organization conventions. Alongside the constitutionally guaranteed employee's right to strike, the new law should satisfy the following assumptions, among other things: Trade unions are self-governing and independent of employers as well as of the state and local administrations.

Statutes are the basic source for the regulation of internal union affairs and the freedom to create such statutes is an expression and guarantee of self-government in occupational organizations. The law is, inter alia, to regulate the question of the status of unions as legal persons only in general terms.

The right of association in a trade union is accorded to all persons who perform work within a work relationship irrespective of the form of ownership of the employing workplace and the objectives of the workplace's activities. This also applies to young people who are learning an occupation.

Organs of the state and local administrations and employers are obliged to provide material conditions for union activity.

Trade unions and trade union federations possess instruments for the filing of appeals as well as the right to participate in the making of decisions pertaining to issues that fall within the ambit of their activities.

Trade unions possess the right to:

—be consulted on drafts pertaining to the constitutional sources of the law and other items of substantive legislation relating to the objectives and functions of trade unions;
—propose legislation relating to employee affairs, insurance, and social assistance;
—conclude social contracts, including collective, interbranch, branch, regional, and workplace contracts as well as other agreements envisaged by the provisions of labor law;
—be consulted on workplace sources of labor law.
—(variant 1) [as published] delegate representatives to workplace management organs;
—delegate representatives to organs that deal with the operation, supervision, or control of the activities of the state and local administrations, as well as of other public institutions that deal with employee affairs;
—obtain from state and local administrative organs as well as from employers information on issues that fall within the scope of union activity.

2. Operational Methods and Means

A time of great changes and entry into a market economy sees many conflicts. However, the democratization of the environment in which such conflicts may occur gives rise to a possibility that parties to a conflict will not be enemies, but partners. Joint management and negotiations will make it possible to avoid disputes and difficulties or to solve them in a civilized manner without resorting to forms of pressure that entail high social costs.

Joint Management

Although the union will not abandon the use of appeal instruments in order to defend employees interests, it will seek to expand the scope of activities by means of joint management.

Variant I: Direct Joint Management

Under this option, factory union representative bodies should obtain powers that are similar to those that are currently enjoyed by employee self-management organs in state enterprises.

Variant II: Indirect Joint Management

Under this option, work forces in work places owned under various forms of ownership should obtain the right to delegate its representatives to the organs managing the workplace. In order to be able to influence the management of the workplace, the union will put forward its own candidates to represent the work force on such organs.

At levels above the workplace, we will seek to influence state and local economic policy on issues on which the views of trade unions have to be consulted. The scope of such consultation procedures should be defined by legislation.

Trade unions should have a decisive say with respect to all decisions concerning work organization, and consultation procedures should ensure that real use is made of this right. The union will strive for modern legislation concerning working hours, work safety, the principles of employment, protection for the unemployed, and the insurance system.

Collective Agreements, Disputes, and Negotiations

The union believes that an important role in regulating labor relations should be performed by collective contracts, accords, and agreements that are concluded on geographical, branch, occupational, and workplace bases. Their content should cover all matters relating to wages and employment conditions, as well as the mutual obligations assumed by the parties.

We attach particularly great importance to workplace contracts and agreements that will make it possible to settle many matters while taking account of workplace circumstances.

The regularization of collective disputes should guarantee freedom for the conduct of negotiations between the employer and employee representatives and should be based on principles such as the peaceful resolution of disputes, cooperation with partners, and minimizing social costs. The law should be free of procedural hindrances and restrictions and should focus on defining principles for the conduct of negotiation and the resolution of disputes, as well as be created with due consideration being given to its effectiveness; that is, the extent to which employees and social partners will observe its provisions.

The term dispute should be given a broad definition. The trade union should have the right to institute a dispute on all matters relating to the interests of the employee, and the employer should be legally bound to engage in negotiations.

As certain occupational groups will not possess the right to strike, the law should permit sympathy strikes. The regulation of the financial responsibility for strikes should draw on the norms that are applied in countries in which there are free market economies.

The union wants its partner to be the genuine employer in terms of legal status and asset ownership. Only a genuine employer as well as a representation of such employers can be a responsible party in contracts, accords, and agreements. If the party is "the workplace" such documents lose all meaning.

Both participation in management and the conduct of negotiation require extensive access to essential information. Trade union access should encompass various decisionmaking levels and provide for, among other things, periodic inspections of the economic and financial condition of enterprises, especially in the event of a threat of layoffs or bankruptcy.

Specialist Skills

A modern union that participates in management and engages in negotiations must rely on activity that is professional in character, is conducted by trained activists, and is based on the services of experts and full time specialists, the efficient distribution of information, financial independence, and the skillful use of the means whereby pressure can be exerted.

The union will prepare to exert pressure by way of pickets, demonstrations, and various forms of strike action. The organization of protest action will be dealt with by trade unionists who are specialists in such operations.

The revenue obtained from membership dues will be supplemented by economic activity. The union's ruling bodies will consider the possibility of establishing a union bank and an insurance agency. They will recover those assets of the former Central Council of Trade unions to which we have a right and those assets that were confiscated as a result of martial law.

The union's regional and national ruling bodies have a duty to organize training programs for activists, as well as ensure that the Union possesses the necessary infrastructure of experts and specialists.

The Union will create an efficient internal information system, and it will employ all the available technical means of communication to this end. However, it will attach the greatest degree of importance to personal contact between union activists and members.

3. The Internal Organization of the Union

This period of transition will not only see conflicts between employers and employees, but also rivalry between occupational and branch groups, difficulties caused by a decline in the importance of certain groups of employees at the expense of other groups or of layoffs. This is also why we are in favor of maintaining the regional organization of the union, which arises out of employee solidarity that goes beyond occupational or branch divisions.

In due course, there will be a mounting need for greater autonomy on the part of individual components of the union and the loosening of organizational dependence that this entails. The acquisition of the status of legal persons by various components of the Union today would help to satisfy this need.

Democracy, whereby the majority decides while respecting the position of the minority, is the principle on which the life of the union is based. Effective action calls for subordination to decisions that are made in accordance with this principle. The internal workings of the union are regulated by its statute. We should reject conduct that is not in keeping with the letter and the spirit of the statute. A democratic internal life, honesty and conduct that is in keeping with the law are the source of the union's strength.

Factory Commissions

Factory commissions are the most important element in the union. Apart from conducting on-going activities, factory commissions should participate in factory management.

Factory commissions in state enterprises should: strive to stimulate work force self-management council activity; influence the selection of managerial staff by looking for suitable candidates and seeing that correct procedures are observed in the making of competitive appointments to managerial positions; strive to improve enterprise efficiency; inform work forces about the position of their enterprise; check the economic and social sense of the changes in ownership that are taking place; and oppose mass layoffs, when they lack sufficient economic grounds or when such layoffs are not in keeping with the law.

With appropriate adjustments, these tasks should also be performed by factory commissions in state budget sphere units and such units owned by local authorities.

On matters that are important for employees, the factory commission should cooperate with factory representatives of other trade unions.

The enormously difficult job of protecting employees while, at the same time, supporting desirable economic changes rests with the union's factory units to a significant degree. They should maintain close contacts with the union's regional ruling bodies, which will make it possible to coordinate union work and take action against sudden processes that threaten to cause employment conditions to deteriorate and to result in uncontrolled layoffs.

Subsidiary Local Bodies

Members of union bodies are entitled to organize themselves and reach agreements for the sake of pursuing common objectives. On the basis of this entitlement and as a result of local needs, subsidiary interfactory bodies have appeared in large conurbations or localities a long way away from the nearest union regional office. Because these subsidiary bodies do not hold the powers that the union's statutory bodies hold, they need not function according to uniform principles. Their tasks and the way they are to be set up and financed will be determined by the relevant annual meeting of delegates, taking into account the provisions of the statute and the traditions and needs of the region in question.

Trade and Branch Industrial Sections

The basic tasks of these sections include the initiation and coordination of work on matters relevant to them, especially the drafting of collective labor agreements, the representation of the interests of individual trades and industrial branches within the union, and acting on the union's behalf in front of employers and the state administration.

Until now, trade and branch industrial sections supported or complemented the work of union authorities. In future, their role will increase. They must be assured of greater independence by increasing their rights to negotiate, and their representatives must be guaranteed a permanent presence among the union's national authorities.

Regional and National Authorities

The union's regional and national authorities are subservient to all its bodies and members.

Regional administrations coordinate the union's activity in their respective territories, and arrange professional assistance for union bodies and members by means of special offices dealing with contacts with work places and branch industrial sections, and by means of specialized agencies dealing with intervention in work places and job protection, training, the drafting of reports, and publishing work.

The union's national authorities perform the same tasks on a national scale.

4. Foreign Contacts

The union's international activity is based on the legislation of the Polish Republic, international pacts on human and civic rights, International Labor Office Convections 87 and 88, and the Statute of the "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union.

Variant I: The general paths of foreign policy are laid down by the union's national authorities, leaving regional union bodies free to establish contacts with foreign trade unions. The National Commission should be informed of new agreements that have been concluded, any training that has been organized, and any message addressed to a foreign country.

Variant II: The union's foreign policy concerning contacts with trade unions, the organization of training, and the sending of messages to societies and institutions abroad is laid down by the National Commission. In this respect, the work of regional union bodies should be coordinated with the National Commission. Regional trade union bodies will inform the National Commission's Foreign Office of any agreements or contacts with foreign countries established directly by a regional body.

The union's foreign contacts were commenced in 1980. The trade unions and international organizations with whom we established contacts at that time assisted the union during the years of martial law and the underground. During this period, numerous factory commissions and other union bodies established direct international links.

We express profound gratitude to everyone who offered the union aid during its difficult times, and declare our desire to continue to cooperate with trade unions, to which we are joined by ties of friendship and concluded agreements.

The "Solidarity" Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union will cooperate with trade unions affiliated to the International Labor Office and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. We are also ready to cooperate with other trade unions.

We consider it our mortal duty to support the independent trade union movement in countries that are becoming democratic, especially the countries of central and East Europe.

The union will initiate and facilitate all international contacts that encourage the rebirth of Polish local government; the development of a market economy; and independent initiatives in the sphere of science, education, and culture.

V. The Challenge of the Future

We have entered a period of great changes. The communist system, which seemed so permanent, is collapsing. Poland is becoming a country of free people.

Our union commenced the changes that are taking place today, and emerged victorious from the clash with the communist adversary. The victory was a costly one; members and activists left us, assets disappeared, and we were weakened by tactical and personal disputes. But the process of change is continuing, and the role of the union is not over.

We are still facing a great challenge. We must not shirk from participating in the peaceful Polish revolution that we started. We must combine this participation with our basic task of defending workers' rights and interests. That is a very difficult task on account of the bill incurred by 40 years of communism—a state in debt, an economy in ruins, a society that is socially backward, and a political stage that is deserted. This bill will have to be paid, for there is no escaping reality. The union should propagate this bitter truth and concentrate on what is possible—keeping down the costs incurred by the fall of an inhuman system and the building of a democratic order.

The size of this challenge is a chance for the union. If it proves equal to the challenge, it will regain its strength, find a place for itself in the reborn Poland, and preserve its international prestige.

Real Politics Union Seeks Strong Army

LD0204114790 Warsaw PAP in English
1053 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Warsaw, April 2—Postulates to reduce spendings on the Army have always made me indignant. Linking the calls for independence with the postulate on disarmament is an utter misunderstanding, chairman of the Main Council of the Real Politics Union Janusz Korwin-Mikke stated in an interview for PAP.

Our union is a firmly pro-militaristic party, he added.

A career Army, even a mercenary one, having the most modern and most efficient means of combat at its disposal, should be the major defensive power. It should be supplemented with a general military service of men prepared to fight in case of war. There must be no exceptions from the recruitment, Korwin-Mikke stated.

Our state is obliged only to observing the signed and ratified treaties. Only interest and care for balance, and not the feelings of friendship or sympathy, should guide states. We should have operational plans specifying our actions in case various, even slight threats should emerge, the union's leader said.

Cultural Accord With USSR Signed in Moscow

AU2903184290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1736 GMT 29 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow, 29/3/1990—A protocol was concluded during a ministerial meeting in Moscow between Andrei Plesu, Romanian minister of culture, and N. N. Gubenko, which provides for intensified cooperation in 1990 through direct exchanges between cultural institutions, art exhibitions and participation in international events organized in the two countries.

Of the cultural events of the ongoing year noteworthy are the forthcoming participation of the National Theatre Company in Bucharest in the International Theatre Festival in Moscow (April 3- 15) on a day devoted to Romania; participation in the Ninth International Musical Festival "P.I. Chaykovskiy," the organization of an exhibition of religious art and of an exhibition of Romanian water-colour paintings of the 19th and 20th centuries. Furthermore, Romania will be the venue of an exhibition called "Russian Attires in the 19th Century" and of a tour of the Chamber Music Theatre in Moscow. A special event will be the display in Bucharest of an icon by Andrei Rublyov on the anniversary of two years since its sanctification. At the same time, the Soviet side will assist in the restoration of works of art destroyed during the December 1989 revolution.

Cooperation Project With UN Development Program

AU3003122490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0940 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/3/1990—The small industry and service commission of the Provisional National Unity Council is to develop a series of studies for the promotion of free enterprise activities in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme—UNDP. The UNDP-assisted projects are to cover some priority domains of the creation, organization and development of consumer goods small enterprises, their protection and administration, the drafting of an informatics system and of a data base. Other studies are to induce the development of private sectors in the Romanian economy and are going to offer assistance in the elaborations of market studies to the benefit of the production enterprises, as well as network of relations and cooperation with the big industry and control system of the activities of private enterprises.

Another collaboration programme with UNDP is to start in the training of Romanian management instructors of small private enterprises. Visits to small enterprises in other countries are to be set under the Torino International Labour Office aegis.

Iliescu, Roman Attend Revolution Commemoration

AU3103183890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1704 GMT 31 Mar 90

["Romania: 100 Days since the Revolution"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/3/1990—Commemorative ceremonies were held in Romania on March 31 to mark the anniversary of 100 days since the December 1989 revolution. Religious services were held in the country's capital city at all sites where young people, men, women and children were killed. The commemorative service for the martyrs of the revolution opened with a tedeum at the patriarchy. The service was attended by PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] President Ion Iliescu, PNUC Vice-President Cazimir Ionescu, Prime Minister Petre Roman, Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu, PNUC Secretary Dan Martian and other officials, as well as the faithful, who also lit candles in memory of the heroes.

The service at the Patriarchy was held by the Most Reverend Deputy Archbishop of Bucharest, Roman Ialomiteanu, the Most Reverend Patriarchal Vicar Bishop Vasile Tirgovisteani, the Most Reverend Vicar of the Archbishopric of Craiova Damaschin Severineanu, and a group of priests.

The same day religious services were held and floral wreaths were laid on behalf of the government and of political parties and organizations at the cemetery of young heroes and at the hot spots of the December revolution in Bucharest.

The commemoration procession went to the Television Station where a military guard presented arms and where Romania's national anthem was played.

Similar ceremonies were held in Timisoara, Cluj, Arad, Sibiu and other towns throughout the country.

Iliescu Commemorates 100 Days Since Revolution

AU3103210590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 90

[Speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, on the 100-day commemoration of the revolution—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Fellow Citizens: It is 100 days since the victory of the December revolution, which put an end to a period of incomparable sufferings for the country and for the whole nation. We owe the victory of the unarmed masses over one of the strongest terror systems to the irresistible force of the people, who unanimously rose against a regime of oppression, starvation, and poverty, as well as moral and spiritual mutilation.

We owe the victory to the decisive and fearless action of the young people, who were at the head of the demonstrators' columns at every hot spot of the revolution and who, through their courage and determination, mobilized the whole nation. The complete adherence of the Army to the revolution and its active participation alongside the people, in it, was an essential condition for this victory. We owe the victory to the bloody sacrifice of the best among us, civilian and military, to whom we all pay pious homage and express our complete gratitude.

The day of 22 December meant not only the overthrow of a dictatorship and its acolytes or the change of a political system. That day also meant the end of an old world and the beginning of a new one. The December revolution confirmed the will of the people to put a complete end to a system which was unable to ensure the natural development of the society and which resorted to dictatorship and oppression in order to maintain in power a restrained group of privileged people. The political act which confirmed the will of the people, was the platform-program of the National Salvation Front [NSF], which was proclaimed on 22 December 1989 and which, through the adherence of the people and of all the other revolutionary forces of the country, established the major directions toward the reconstruction and renewal program of the Romanian society.

Even now, 100 days since the revolution, when the economy and the social and political life of the country have gone through important changes in such a short period, the 10 points of the platform-program continue to represent a core, around which revolve, in one way or another, all the options, programs, and orientations proposed by various parties and political formations for the construction of the future society.

The program-platform proclaimed Romania's passage to democracy on the basis of ensuring the separation of powers within the state, political pluralism, and free elections. The program-platform stated the need for ensuring the people's fundamental rights, freedom of opinion and expression, religious belief, and the respect for the rights of national minorities.

Likewise, the platform-program established the principal directions toward the reconstruction of society and toward ensuring Romania's passage to new economic structures, based on the market mechanism, which should promote the development of the production of goods and services and promote the individual initiative and professional competence, in order to ensure for all the citizens of our country a standard of living which is in accordance with that which civilization enjoys at this end of the century. The platform-program proclaimed the need to embark on the road of renewing both culture and the Romanian cultural life, which were seriously affected by their forced subordination to the absurd personality cult and by the promotion of non-values, pseudo-culture, and political slogans administered under all cultural forms. Thus, room was created for the values in their infinite diversity.

Among the objectives of the platform of the revolution, are to be found Romania's reintegration into the European civilization, where it belongs not only according to its geographical position, but through the entire history of the Romanian people and through their traditional political, economic, and cultural relations.

Certainly, as we all realized very quickly, the revolution meant the beginning of a long, extremely contradictory process. The NSF Council functioned and was able to lead the county—defending it from a possible fall into political and social chaos—only by establishing the new structures of power, through a broad initiative of the people.

One of the most important tasks assumed by the new power, was to improve the people's living conditions, which were seriously affected during the dictatorship. Thus the NSF decrees gained a broad approval, because they were aimed at eliminating gas rationing and at establishing a uniform tariff, lowering electricity prices, ensuring a gradual change to a 5-day work week, returning the social shares of employees, increasing pensions and social security of agricultural cooperative members, ensuring paid holidays for mothers to care for children under one year of age, and reducing the age limit for pensioning off certain categories of employees.

Within the same context, we should strengthen the effort made to ensure the people's better supply of foodstuffs and consumer goods, by halting exports and the massive import of such products, and also through incentives for agricultural producers, by raising contracting and purchase prices and by distributing about 3 million hectares of arable land to individuals for long-term use.

We are far from having solved all problems. We have and we will continue to have problems, but one of the fears that started to disappear from our life is the one regarding daily food. Other regulations that met the expectations of all the country's citizens are those concerning the new passport rules, travel abroad, foreign capital investment in Romania, and the organizing and carrying out of the economic activity on the basis of free initiative.

These first successful gains of this period, marked by many social problems, represent successes for all of us and form the foundation for the hope that we will achieve the objectives and the ideals of our revolution.

The December revolution was first of all marked by the aspiration for democratization in Romanian society. This process started in the first moments of the revolution, in Timisoara and continued in Bucharest and throughout the country. This represents a specific driving force of the whole society, which will certainly continue in the future, too.

The most important moments of the new period have been marked by the creation of political parties, of various forms of political associations of national minorities, of free trade unions, and of other professional organizations and associations. The creation of parties should not be interpreted only as a simple concretization of political pluralism, but as a concrete expression of the democratization of social structures, because the pluralism on the political plane naturally expresses the existence of various social categories and of a great number of viewpoints about the way in which the reconstruction of our society has to be carried out.

The creation of trade unions, as concrete forms of democratization of economic activity and of social life, should also be viewed within this context. No government, regardless of its political orientation, can ignore the activity of trade unions, as representatives of the general interests of various categories of employees.

The setting up—at the beginning of February—of the Provisional National Unity Front [PNUC]—both at the central and local level—was an important moment from an institutional point of view, because it opened a new way for cooperation between parties and political groups.

The completion and endorsement of the electoral bill marked the passage to a new period of the political mechanism, the continuation of the democratization process of our society. The May elections will sanction and make legitimate those political forces, which will assume the continuation of the process of democratization and reconstruction in Romanian society.

The December revolution broke out at a moment of profound political, economic, and social crisis—the most serious crisis ever known in our country. The crushing of the dictatorship could not eliminate at once all the manifestations of this crisis. They continued and continue to be present in the life of our society and in the psychology and mentality of the people. This has also inevitably marked the process of democratization during the past 100 days. The elimination of the past and the old totalitarian regime has resulted in a difficult course of searches and hesitations, and in true political and social convulsions, extremist tendencies, phenomenon of manipulation and disorientation, and in fear of the future. Under these circumstances, we encounter difficulties in maintaining stability, normalizing the economic activity, and in general finding the necessary solutions for the real problems in the country. In connection with this issue, it is worth mentioning that work is the major factor of any society and even more so of a society which is at the beginning of its reconstruction, such as our society.

The difficulties that we have encountered—particularly in the past 2 weeks—have been accentuated by interethnic conflicts in Transylvania, sometimes associated with external pressure. The statement of the PNUC Executive Bureau and the Government statement reaffirmed our clear position on understanding the legitimate aspirations of the national minorities for fundamental rights, equal to those of the whole Romanian people. To the Romanian state, all citizens are equal and democracy can only be the same for all. At the same time, I stressed that, in no way can we accept a lack of balance in the country, or the questioning of the sovereignty of the state and its unitary character. We categorically state that Transylvania—the land where the Romanian people were born—cannot be the subject for negotiation with any one. The experience we acquired highlighted the importance of dialogue, of tolerance, and understanding for the further assurance of the general democratization of our society. Extremist and nationalist-chauvinist manifestations can only destabilize Romania's domestic and international situation.

How do we view the next 50 days until the elections? We are already in the period of the electoral campaign. Speeches, mass media, the manifestations and political activities of parties that are competing with each other, naturally show different viewpoints and diverging strategy programs. The electoral confrontation should involve ideas, a different approach to issues, and concepts. It should not change into attacks by individuals in a campaign of slander. It should be regarded as a way to offer the electorate an opportunity to thoroughly understand the content and the implications of the programs set forth by each party, so that people can choose the future they wish for their country in full awareness. It should by no means be turned into a mere struggle for acquiring power by one group of people or another.

This is a responsibility devolving on all of us. The way in which the Romanian society will look into the future depends on our options. These days will be for us, and for those who look at us from abroad, the measure of our political maturity and of our responsibility for the destiny of our nation.

The events in Tirgu Mures, and in Transylvania in general, reminded us—as if we needed to be reminded—that there are certain interests —national interests—that lie above the interests of one individual or another, of one party or another. The lesson which I hope we have all learned, from those regrettable incidents and state of tension, is that a national consensus should be reached and maintained as far as the fundamental interests of the nation are concerned, and that they should not be affected by various options that can be noticed in the domestic political life.

It is the sacred duty of all of us to defend our national interests and this must be firmly placed above our approach to the issue or visions—sometimes different—of the future of Romanian civilian society. The objectives of the revolution should be permanently reaffirmed. They should be implemented and firmly observed.

Everything that we gained we owe to the heroes of the revolution. Today, once again, we remember them with gratitude. Our tears join the tears of their families and friends. Today should be a day of remembrance, a day on which we look back in pride and in hope to the future.

Thank you.

Newspaper Reports 18 Mar Bucharest Demonstration

AU0204132390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Mar 90 p 3

[Sorin Rosca-Stanescu article: "For the Well-Being of the Whole Nation"]

[Excerpts] On Sunday [18 March] evening, Romanian television broadcast a video report on the demonstrations in Cluj. However, it failed to report on the demonstration that took place in Bucharest, which was organized by the apolitical cultural movement the "People's Alliance" and proceeded through Unirii [Unity] Square, University Square, Romana Square, Victory Square, and back. Here are a few of the slogans that could be read on banners carried by some of the several hundred demonstrators: "It is not true that Timisoara wants administrative autonomy," "If there is communism, there is nothing," "People want a free Romania, without a communist dictatorship," "Hungarians, do not let yourselves be manipulated by the Securitate," "We want stability in Transylvania," "National Salvation Front—Neocommunism," "The heroes of the revolution shed their blood for a free Romania," "We want cultural unity with Bessarabia and Bucovina," and "Scandal in parliament: Iliescu and Mazilu are fighting for a seat."

For almost five hours, along 1848 Boulevard, Magheru Boulevard, Ana Ipatescu Boulevard, and in Victory Square people repeatedly chanted: "Timisoara," "Down with the communist government," "Down with Iliescu," "Tele-Trade Union, the number one force in the state," "We want dialogue," "Ceausescu do not be sad; Iliescu is a communist," "Today in Timisoara, tomorrow throughout the country," and "Ratiu."

During the demonstrations various participants took the floor, expressing support for the major points included in the appeal of the "People's Alliance" movement, which was published prior to the demonstrations. [passage omitted]

The demonstration took place in an orderly atmosphere, without incidents. The police fulfilled their duty and made their contribution to avoiding all kinds of provocative acts. Even if not one single representative of the government or of the Provisional National Unity Council was present to hold direct talks with the demonstrators, the press fulfilled its duty—the representatives of many publications and radio reporters were present—and that is, what we will do in the future in order to correctly inform readers and those who today are leading the destiny of the country about the requests and claims of the participants in such demonstrations.

Tirgu Mures Incidents Reveal 'Moral Evil'

AU3103185790 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Octavian Paler article: "The Lucidity We Need"]

[Text] Terrified, I am watching a number of hallucinatory scenes filmed in Tirgu Mures during the past few days, and I realize that no matter how precise they may be, the communiques issued inevitably lie to us. Undoubtedly, the consequences are even more terrible than the reports on the number of dead and injured reveal. Who could calculate the effects of hatred in people's souls? Who could evaluate the moral evil provoked by what I see? I experience these events also as my own tragedy. I spent my childhood in a Romanian village in Transylvania, where I learned to hope that time soothes old wounds. Later, I was happy to discover that I too could say: I love my country too much to be a nationalist. I have no doubts that nothing good can be built on the basis of hatred, especially history in which natural coexistence is part and parcel of civilization. I was convinced that the suffering endured together during the long dictatorship has helped us and the Hungarians to free ourselves from the historic curse of enmity that has caused so much evil for both of us. Have I been wrong? I hear terrible things about defiled monuments and instigation to violence with everything this represents: horror and error, and I cannot understand it. Could it be that those, who hurt the national feelings of others through reckless acts, do not realize that they are inciting the phantom of vendettas? Do they not realize that each people and each minority have sacred things which they will not tolerate to be desecrated? Do they not know that intolerance generates intolerance? Unfortunately, once again we are talking about the dead. Only, this time, death has nothing heroic in it. On the contrary, it threatens to throw us into the hell of a Saint Bartholomew night, full of hatred and blood. Therefore I would not like to insist on the causes now. Historians can take the liberty of being the prosecutors, without being afraid of adding fuel to the fire. However, when one is watching history reddened with blood, one cannot help being afraid that each word uttered may pose a risk. When calm is restored, the causes of this tragic violence in Tirgu Mures will have to be examined carefully. We have to have detailed explanations for how things began. Hushing up the evil would only bury the axe of war, so as to be dug up once again on the first occasion. Confusion would be favorable for what separates us; only truth can help us overcome this. Therefore we have to answer some difficult questions. How is it possible for hatred to show up in the street, not for the purpose of overthrowing the dictatorship as in December, but to endanger the chances for the freedom conquered together with great sacrifices? Who speculates on hatred and for what reasons, while forgetting that intolerance and tolerance toward intolerance are two aspects of the same evil? However, something else is more urgent now: Things should not progress so that they are irreparable. Before working out the details of how the bloody acts of violence in Tirgu Mures started, they have to stop. Lucidity is first needed so that evil is not turned into an even greater evil. Any additional violence leads to more violence and increases the danger of taking us to the point where even communication is threatened.

Hungarian, Romanian Groups Issue Statement

LD0104154390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 1 Apr 90

[Text] The Romanians and Hungarians wish to live together in Transylvania in peace and with understanding—emphasized the joint statement which was accepted at the Kolozsvar [Cluj] Nationalities conference.

At the meeting representatives of the Democratic Federation of Magyars in Romania and the Vatra Romanescu from the counties of Harghita and Kovaszna [Covasna] were present. The joint communique accepted by them states that they regard Romania as their common homeland and diassociate themselves from any attempts which are direct toward breaking up the country.

Youth To Join Magyar Federation in Election

LD0104183890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 1 Apr 90

[Text] There is an election campaign in progress in Romania as well. On the basis of the congress of Miercurea Ciuc, the youth federation of Magyars in Romania will run in next month's elections on a joint list with the RMDSz [Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania].

The declaration of intent that has been adopted proclaims the guaranteeing of individual and collective rights, a multiparty system, constitutional statehood, openness of information, and the territorial inviolability of Romania.

The document says it is of outstanding importance that a cultural bridge be created between universal Romanian and Hungarian culture. This is written, incidentally, by ERDELYI HIRADO, the national newspaper of the RMDSz in Cluj, which has just appeared. The leading article notes that the time for sober self-examination is approaching, now that the dictatorship has been defeated, but the revolution has not yet been victorious. In addition, there are forces which openly undertake the pursuit of the Ceusescu regime's nationality policy, which is of a fascist nature.

Vatra Romaneasca Branch Set Up in Hunedoara

AU3003170690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1503 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/3/1990—Deva—seat of the County of Hunedoara in central Romania—was the venue of the foundation meeting of the "Vatra Romaneasca" county branch. The organization—the aims of which are mainly cultural—promotes work-together and cooperation between Romanians and Hungarians in various areas against all extremist, nationalistic and chauvinistic trends, for the restoration of calm in Transylvanian settlements.

Braia Residence Denied for 'Public Order Reasons'

AU0204202690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1843 GMT 2 Apr 90

["Ministry of the Interior Communique"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 2/4/1990—The press agency ROMPRES has received from the Ministry of the Interior a communique which shows that for public order reasons, through an order of the Ministry of the Interior, the right of residence in Romania was withdrawn to Doru Constantin Braia, holder of a passport issued by the Federal Republic of Germany.

The General Police Inspectorate took measures to fulfil the order. Doru Constantin Braia left the territory of the country on 2 April 1990. The relevant bodies will take steps to bar him entry into the country for a five-year period, it is said.

Doru Constantin Braia, during his two temporary stays in Romania, took part in many public meetings, inciting to provocations against public order and quiet, slandering the Army and certain state bodies in the exercise of their duty.

Worth mentioning in this respect are his frequent television appearances, as well as his participation in the Cluj meeting on 11 March when he was at the rostrum beside Doru Nicolae Popescu, a Canadian citizen of Romanian descent, member of a legionary [Iron Guards] organization.

Such actions reached a climax on 1 April when Doru Constantin Braia at an unauthorized meeting forced an instigative interview on television, which drew many protests from the population in the country and from persons abroad where the fact is known that he is a member of a Munich-based neofascist organization pursuing extremist terrorist actions.

NSF Charges Anti-NSF Bias in TV Program

AU0204132290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1238 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/4/1990—The coordination commission of the National Salvation Front [NSF] released a protest against the manipulation of the Romanian public opinion by the news department of the Romanian Free Television which on 1 April granted half an hour, at a time of maximum audience, for anti-NSF electoral propaganda.

The principle of objectiveness in the presentation by the television of the political opinions of various political parties and groupings, a principle asserted in the voting law, has thus been violated, the communique released by the NSF reads.

The political groupings that took part in the demonstration of 1 April, which, according to experts, gathered 4,000 people at the most and not 50,000, tried to impose on public opinion the idea that the National Salvation Front would be a movement linked to the former communist structures. This assessment deliberately ignores, for propagandistic purposes, the fundamental truth of the December revolution, namely that the National Salvation Front was born as a movement of overthrowing the dictatorship.

The document also demands the urgent investigation by the relevant bodies of the political activities of the West German citizen Doru Braia, propaganda activities of an extremist character.

Bratianu Liberal Union Presents Platform

AU0204093490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0755 GMT 2 Apr 90

["The Parties Introduce Themselves: 'The Bratianu Liberal Union'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/12990—A new formation has emerged in Romania's political life: the "Bratianu Liberal Union," a national political grouping the program of which shows that "the union pursues the convergence of all forces opting for a liberal policy, guarantees the observance of the identity, individuality and nuances of political option and orientation of every member, while remaining truthful to the principle that the diversity of opinion is the fundamental guarantee of genuine democracy and social progress."

The Liberal Union "has as central target the steady promotion of neoliberalism by all forces which it rallies through their free moral and political commitment. The major theme of the liberal unity is the real and plenary participation of every citizen in building genuine democracy."

Liberal Union's Bratianu To Run for Presidency

AU0204094090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] The Bratianu Liberal Union was set up yesterday in Bucharest. The president of the new formation, Mr. Ion I. Bratianu, said in an interview that this does not amount to a split within the National Liberal Party, whose traditions, statute, and platform the Bratianu Liberal Union pledges to continue, but rather a temporary separation from the current leadership of the National Liberal Party and from the totalitarian and arbitrary methods practiced by Mr. Radu Campeanu. Mr. Ion I. Bratianu was appointed candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections.

Ratiu Group Wants Election 'Observer' Status

AU0204104690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0932 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1990—The president of the World Union of Free Romanians (WUFR), Mr Ion Ratiu, announced (in an interview granted for the weekly "TIMPUL" in Iasi) the intention of his grouping to apply for the status of observer during the first free elections in Romania due at May 20.

As "impartial grouping," Mr Ratiu showed, the WUFR wishes to participate in observing the elections together with other international organisms such as Hansard (Great Britain), "world famous for its fairness."

NLP President-Elect Campeanu at News Conference

AU0204103490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0937 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1990—The president elect of the National Liberal Party [NLP], Mr Radu Campeanu, announced at a press conference held in Bucharest that the NLP would participate in elections together with the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party and the Social Democratic Party, with other small parties that wish such an alliance. He did not specify if the alliance meant "common lists" but said that it concerned only the parliamentary and not the presidential elections.

Likewise, the liberal leader showed that at the recent national conference of the party it was decided that foreign observers be invited, a request to be addressed to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, to the Liberal International, to the Christian Democratic International, to the Socialist International and the International Democratic Union.

In connection with the election alliance, Mr Campeanu said he hoped the coalition of the three parties could yield a majority in elections. He rejected any connection with the leader of the Free Romanians' Union, Ion Ratiu, just as the possibility of re-establishing a monarchy, considering it inappropriate. He also rejected any possibility of alliance with the National Salvation Front.

The restitution of property would raise insurmountable problems in Romania today, were it possible. We are defenders of the peasant property and we do not understand to restore the large rural property. I think that this example explains also our stand on all the other restitutions of properties, the speaker said.

In connection with the events in Tirgu Mures and other settlements, the NLP president assessed that his party's stand had been made clear not long ago and stressed that "there have been manipulations from the outside which found a fertile ground in the Hungarian extremism in Romania."

Referring to Romania's future external relations Mr Campeanu said: Romania will deepen relations with all its neighbours and this is facilitated by the democratic evolution in all these countries, the Soviet Union included. As for the relations with our traditional allies, there is no secret for anybody that we will develop them. This concerns France, England, the U.S.A., and, why not, West Germany, under the current circumstances." Referring to Hungary he said that the first step that must be made, and which I will make, is to go to Budapest and speak to the Hungarians.

Jan-Mar 1990 Coal Production Figures

AU0204091390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0807 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1990—Romania's fuel coal production in the first trimester of 1990 stands at

10,150,000 tonnes, said Romania's relevant minister adding that in the same period 410,000 tonnes of pit coal for the steel industry, 8,450 tonnes of copper concentrate as well as other mining products needed in the national economy had been produced.

In consideration of the regulations set in the extractive sector early this year as concerns the duration of a shift and of a work week, the above figures account for 95 per cent in the case of fuel coal and 94 per cent in the case of copper as compared with the same period last year.

Pointing out that another two units the Farcasesti mine in the Rovinari basin and the Cernisoara-Bistrita mine in the Vilcea basin would go on stream, the minister said efforts were being made to realize larger investment. Steps were also taken to expand cooperative ties with foreign companies specializing in highly efficient mining equipment and technologies. Noteworthy among them are the "Salzgtter" [name as received] for the production of combines and of metal support pillars, the "Krupp" for the updating of exploitation equipment in lignite mines, and the "Rhreinbraun Engineering" for technologies in lignite mines and large-capacity equipment.

Jan-Mar 1990 Statistics on Fires, Damages

AU0204132690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1228 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/4/1990—There were over 1,400 fires in Romania in the first three months of the ongoing year which caused damage of more than 4 million lei to both the state and the private sectors. Fifty eight people, of whom 17 children, died in these fires.

The most affected sectors were trade and services, warehouses, agriculture, institutions, small production, transport and forestry. Most of the fires (about 1,000) affected the private sector with losses of more than 1.5 million lei. Hundreds of dwellings and annexes were burned down. Unsupervised improvised heating systems, out-of-order electric installations, uncontrolled open fires, children's playing with matches are the main causes of the fires.

Geologists Discover New Oil, Gas Deposits

AU0204091590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0803 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1990—Romanian experts found rich crude and gas deposits in the western part of the country. According to geology minister Ioan Folea, three new oil deposits were discovered at Simpetru German and Bodron, in Arad County, and at Abramuti, Bihor County. At the end of prospecting works, large free gas deposits were also found at Partos, Dudesti and Dada, Timis County. A similar deposit was discovered at Balta Alba, Braila County, in the eastern part of Romania.

Government Opposes UN Transylvania Rights Probe

AU3003152190 Paris AFP in English 1448 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Geneva, March 30 (AFP)—The Romanian government said Friday it was opposed to a visit by a United Nations official to troubled Transylvania to investigate possible human rights violations, U.N. sources said here. Joseph Voyame, the special rapporteur of the U.N. human rights commission, recently sounded out Bucharest officials about a visit to Tirgu Mures, central Romania, where clashes between the Hungarian minority and ethnic Romanians left at least three dead and more than 300 injured last week. The visit was "neither timely nor necessary", Mr. Voyame's secretary quoted a government official as saying in response to the query. But the special rapporteur was not denied a visa, she added.

Mr. Voyame was also told that the situation in Tirgu Mures had calmed down and that steps to appease the inter-ethnic strife had been taken.

During a visit to Romania last month Mr. Voyame noticed major improvements in Romania's human rights record, compared to the grim situation under the country's late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. However the minority situation was less bright and Mr. Voyame said the right to learn Hungarian as a mother tongue was still not guaranteed.

Central Election Office Responsibilities

AU3003170590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1430 GMT 30 Mar 90

["Election Campaign: Attributes of the Central Election Office"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/3/1990—The Central Election Office [CEO] for the May 20 legislative elections in Romania is currently made up of seven justices of the Supreme Court of Law and ten representatives of the political parties and formations. It fulfils all attributes in its present form until it will be extended with the representatives of the political parties and formations, which will be done after the expiry of the term of filing the candidacies and of settlement of the objections connected with them.

The Central Election Office sees to the drawing up of the election rolls, their presentation to citizens, settles the objections that might arise in relation to the way of formation and the composition of the constituency election offices, receives proposals for the office of president of Romania. After the expiry of the term for presenting the candidacies for the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate and of the term for the settlement of the objections, the Central Election Office receives from the constituency election offices the candidacies that remained final, and the parties and political formations officially inform it of the number of rolls that remained final. In turn, the Central Election Office will make known the sequence of recording in the ballots the candidacies for the office of president, established through lots drawing. The CEO has also the task to receive the election signs presented by the political parties and formations and by the independent candidates.

Gypsy Union 'Regrets' Clashes in Transylvania

AU3003180490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1506 GMT 30 Mar 90

["Union of Romania's Statement for the Press"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/3/1990—Participants in the founding meeting of this union which takes further the activity of the General Union of the Romanies in Romania of 1934-1938 and 1946- 1954, a statement for the press says, regrets the acts of violence in Tirgu Mures where inter ethnic tensions became a means of political diversion. We are vitally interested in good brotherly relations between Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania since we have many Romanian-speaking Romani communities with Romanian customs and Hungarian language-speaking Romani communities with Hungarian customs. In this changing world we regard ourselves as being among the first inhabitants of the "common home" that all European countries aspire to, since there are Romani collectivities in almost all the countries of Europe and the world. This being our position, we want to state our support to the values of peace, non-violence, tolerance and brotherhood among individuals, ethnic groups and nations. Furthermore, we want to prevent any tendency to assimilate our interests with those of other national minorities. We promote solidarity between the minorities and the majority population, but we want our specific social problems to be dealt with and solved separately, in agreement with the real position of the Romanies in Romanian society.

'Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina' Cultural Event

AU2803202690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1950 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 28/3/1990—A festive meeting was held in Bucharest on 27 March organized by the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" Association to mark the union of Bessarabia with Romania.

On opening the meeting—attended by the leaders of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party and of the National Liberal Party, Messrs Corneliu Coposu and Radu Campeanu, and by the minister of religious affairs, Mr Nicolae Stoicescu—a group of priests, headed by Reverend Vasile Tipordei (Bucharest) and Petre Buburuz (Kishinev), performed a te deum in the memory of those who accomplished the union (among whom King Ferdinand, politicians A. Marghiloman, Petru Hanes, Pan Halipa, scholar Onisifor Ghibu).

Those present declared president of the meeting Mr Anton Crihan, the only survivor of the event of 27 March 1918—Bessarabia's union with Romania.

Reverend Vasile Tipordei, vice-president of the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" Association, writers, linguists, patriots of Kishinev and Chernovtsy, the Romanian minister of religious affairs, members of the organizing association, of the political parties present at the festivity spoke about the significance of the event.

A performance was given on the same occasion and a show was arranged of books put out by the Brussels publishing house of the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" association.

'Wind Energy Association' Forms in Bucharest

AU3003091090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0754 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/3/1990—The Romanian Wind Energy Association ROWEA has been set up in Bucharest. A juristic body, ROWEA is an autonomous professional association rallying engineers, men of sciences, researchers to the end of coordinating at a national level the activity in this domain.

The ROWEA has already made arrangements for its affiliation to the specialty European organization European Wind Energy Association.

Rise of New Newspapers Creates 'Printing Crisis'

AU3103222390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1804 GMT 30 Mar 90

["Communique"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/3/1990—The unprecedented rise in the number of newspapers in Romania in the last three months (about 900 around the country) has predictably brought a printing crisis, says a communique read by the minister of culture, Andrei Plesu, in Friday's PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] session and broadcast by ROMPRES agency. The paper in stock cannot meet the demand, printing works are overcrowded and the printing equipment is in a precarious condition, the communique says, showing that all this comes at a time when PNUC has decided to give all political parties proper conditions for their election campaign. The communique lists a number of urgent measures taken temporarily (until the end of May) to get over the crisis and put reasonable conditions in place for the election campaign. Among other things, for the duration of the election campaign all printing works in the country will give top priority to the press of all parties. Central dailies will have their pages limited to four and their circulation cut by 20 degrees. Weekly supplements will become monthlies and the number of pages of magazines "22" and "FLACARA" will be reduced to 16.

Liberal Party's New Daily VIITORUL Issued

AU3003122290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0943 GMT 30 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/3/1990—The first issue of the daily "VIITORUL" (evening newspaper of the National Liberal Party), was brought out which is going to "militate for the quiet and peace, dialogue instead of confrontations of all Romanian citizens, fraternity among nationalities."

The newspaper prints also the speech delivered on 25 March by Mr. Radu Campeanu, general secretary of the National Liberal Party, at the meeting in Timisoara, the joint statement of the National Liberal Party and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, an interview with the minister of home trade, foreign dispatches, sports news.

Dinu Patriciu and Gelu Netea (its director) sign the article "The Observance of the Rights of All Nationalities and the Recognition of Their Cultural Personalities."

New Republican Union Magazine Issued

AU0204122990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1132 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/4/1990—The first issue of "JURNALUL REPUBLICAN" (REPUBLICAN MAGAZINE—mouthpiece of the Republican Union) has come out. "Ideology of the Romanian Revolution," "Mysterious Deaths," "The Communist Assassination of Culture," "Medical Astrology," "Towards a Gorbachevism With Brucan's Face" are some of the articles in that first issue. The newspaper also prints the programme of the Republican Union and presents the democratic system in the United States, beginning a serial aimed at presenting aspects of the Western-type democracy mechanisms.

New Cultural Magazine Issued

AU0204134 890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1232 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 2/4/1990—"CUGET ROMANESC" (Romanian conscience) No. 1/March 1990 "a magazine of Romanian fraternity, spiritually and culturally," edited by the cultural League of Romanians everywhere, set up on 24 January 1990, has been brought out. We pay homage in our magazine to all the makers of the national culture, also including those who, especially in the past decades, were obliged to keep alive the conscience of Romania wherever they were in the four cardinal points, reads the first issue of this magazine. With writer Alecu Ivan Ghilia as its editor in chief, the new magazine gathers signatures of prestigious cultural personalities among whom Octavian Paler, Fanus Neagu, Dan Grigorescu, Corneliu Baba, Emil Loteanu, Alexandru Buican (USA), Grigore Vieru, Reverend Constantin Galeriu.

* Democratic Labor Party Program Explained

90BA0008A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 16 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Democratic Labor Party Chairman Radu Dobrescu by S.P. Achim; place and date not given]

[Text] [ADEVARUL] Mr. Dobrescu, in many letters that we received our readers admitted that it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between the particular options of the various political parties that emerged after the Revolution. Please help them clarify the situation concerning the Democratic Labor Party [DLP], whose chairman you are.

[Dobrescu] The ideas that distinguish our political platform stem from the fact that we appeal to a well determined social category, namely to all those who realized that the victory won on the barricades of the Revolution must be consolidated on the job by means of competent and efficient work carried out in a spirit of patriotic responsibility. Our party believes that the primary objective of the country now is stability and consequently, at this point to talk of more extensive privatization than is envisaged in the Decree-law on free initiative is neither opportune nor atuned to the real situation prevailing in Romanian society. We think that only after free initiative has proven itself and appropriate financial resources have been created, can we go on to a more advanced stage in the privatization process. Our party thinks that this period will take three to four years.

Secondly, we believe that, in view of the fact that since 1938 our country lived through periods of dictatorship rather than democracy, it is now essential for our people's present and future that the nation doesn't opt for one party or another. We certainly do not deny the role of the parties but we believe that at present their main function is to identify and push to the forefront of social and political life people capable of successfully promoting the people's interests and aspirations.

[ADEVARUL] The current political spectrum is very wide. What is the location of the DLP in it?

[Dobrescu] We believe that dividing the parties into left, center, and right with their nuances, is nothing but the application of Western terminology to Romanian politics, and that this terminology doesn't fit the conditions prevailing in our country. Judging by the political platforms, all the parties clearly promote programs aimed at restoring Romania to its place among the free countries of Europe, free both politically and economically. The differences among them concern the length of time that they consider necessary to attain that objective and the speed with which changes should be effected. It is according to that criteria that the parties are located on the left, right, or center of the political spectrum. We are in favor of small steps and so, if we absolutely have to declare ourselves, we may be viewed as a moderate center party.

[ADEVARUL] The public is worried that the economic situation may deteriorate. What do you think should be done now to preempt such a development?

[Dobrescu] We are all familiar with the difficult legacy of the dictatorship. However, I want to stress that in the area of material production we have very capable cadres. We can overcome our difficulties by allowing these cadres to freely consider the interests of their enterprise and by encouraging them to do so; in other words, by decentralizing management and giving people broad autonomy in dealing with problems. We believe that enterprises can be made profitable also by redesigning products, because making our products meet international standards beginning with the design stage is more important even than the modernization of our economic units. We also think that eliminating the overall contract system and widely introducing individual or team contracts can have important positive consequences. That is the only way to eliminate unproductive elements at all levels and radically change workers' attitude toward equipment and material resources.

As a party that represents the interests of the producers of material and other assets and defends labor and the working people, we have had direct contacts with all these categories of people. At present the great majority want to have jobs and live at peace. Very many are beginning to be worried about the impatience with which some large or small groups want to immediately fulfill their own wishes. That is precisely why the parties must adjust their styles of political struggle to this mood, ensuring a decent and responsible political climate until the elections.

* Message From Army Units in Transylvania

27000010A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "We Have Received This Message From the Army Units in Transylvania"]

[Text] The Romanian Revolution of December 1989 paved the way for the process of a real national rebirth for our entire society. Built on the sacred foundations of liberty, democracy, and dignity, this rebirth is being carried out through the will of the Romanian people who know how to base their new life on the supreme principles of independence, national sovereignty, and territorial integrity, as a basic guarantee that the rights of all sons of Romania shall be respected.

In agreement with this will, the Romanian Army, an active participant in the December Revolution, understands that, in a period of deep social, political, and economic changes—taking place in a particularly tense and dynamic international climate—it has the duty to guarantee, at every moment, the territorial integrity of Romania and the inviolability of its borders.

In the present domestic and international situation, the stability of the Army is and should be our priority task. Without stability, without unity of will, command and action, without a firm discipline, it would not have been possible for the Army—in its totality—to execute its mission in the Revolution.

We cannot accept the fact that, in the name of democratization, ideas are being promoted which do not increase the combat capability of the Army. We cannot agree with those who, in the name of democratization, try to impose their own positions, do not accept dialog, and are against those who promote different ideas. Such exclusivist positions affect the unity and the quality of the innnovative processes in the Army.

Our committee calls upon all the military, regardless of rank or position, to support the content and demands expressed in the "Appeal for the Stability of the Army" presented to the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense on 22 February. The appeal was published in issue No. 10/1990 of the Cluj review TRIBUNA and in the 8, 9, and 10 March issues of the newspaper TINERETUL LIBER, numbers 65-67.

In essence, our appeal is not aimed at demands of a material nature; it does not conflict with the demands expressed by the "Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army;" it does not propose to engage in polemics with those who are taking action to resolve the different problems with which the Army is confronted at the present time.

We are convinced that political pluralism is not an impediment to a national consensus or a divisive factor for the Army, since attachment to the country is not an exclusive prerogative of any party, but a sacred, basic duty of all parties and not only of the parties.

Therefore, we call upon the entire Army, in unity of will and action, because now, after half a century, we are saddened by the tragic memory of the year 1940, when the Romanian Army—humiliated and dishonored—was forced to withdraw, shamefully, without a struggle, from part of the sacred territory of the country.

We, soldiers of the Romanian Army in Transylvania, regardless of our ethnic origin, sons of the ancestral hearth, swear to the people that we will never endure new disgrace from a new Diktat because if we think and do otherwise, those who have died for us and who sleep today beneath the earth will curse us. They are our heroes.

National-chauvinistic ideas are foreign to us. We do not want to dominate anyone and we do not seek privileges for anyone. We are convinced that there is room in Romania for all and that the premises have been created for the equal enactment of the legitimate rights of all.

We are in favor of the full recognition of the natural rights of Romanian citizens who have another ethnic origin and of their traditions, but we cannot consider separatist tendencies as a legitimate manifestation of human rights or as a process capable of ensuring the peaceful and prosperous coexistence of all. We do not desire, under the screen of democracy, or of the promotion of the European spirit, that there be an infringement of the unity of the Romanian Army and of the country or the territorial integrity of Romania. Thus we cannot accept any such manifestations, when they are expressed directly or when a skillful effort is made to conceal them in beautiful statements of intentions.

We believe that, at present, it is absolutely necessary that a law be adopted which would prohibit any political or administrative body, any military commander or any person, regardless of rank or position, from giving an order to the Army which would affect, in one way or another, the interests of the people or the territorial integrity of Romania.

12 More Cases of 'Poisoning' in Kosovo

AU0204204190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] It was relatively quiet in Kosovo today. However, at about 1800 [1600 GMT] this evening, new cases were reported of the poisoning of students in the secondary school center in Pec. A dozen secondary school students began to complain of poisoning and, in line with the already well-known scenario, cars immediately appeared to take them to a hospital.

At the same time, a group of students set off toward the secondary school center. The security forces tried to check the identification of those who brought the patients on stretchers but both they and the alleged patients ran away.

The organizer of this farce was quickly detained. As our correspondent has discovered, this is an English teacher at the Pec secondary school center but his name is not being disclosed for the sake of the investigation.

Several cases of the so-called poisoning were also reported in Urosevac.

More 'Poisoning' Cases Noted

LD0304102390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0918 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Text] Pristina, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—The alleged poisoning of Albanian schoolchildren occurred again this morning in Podujevo. A large group of Albanian pupils from the Djuro Djakovic school sought medical assistance in the health center there, complaining of the already well-known symptions. Some of the "worst cases", it has been learned, were urgently transferred to the Prestina hospital. As a result of this, teaching in Albanian in Podujevo schools has been suspended, while participants of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality are regularly attending classes.

Pupils from the Albanian language department in the Pec Grammar School also stayed away from classes this morning following yesterday's [as received] phenomenon of the ostensible poisoning of their fellow pupils. In other places in Kosovo things were peaceful during the morning.

Report on Situation in Kosovo

LD0204223990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—After the almost one-month break and political boycott, lessons in elementary and secondary schools in Kosovo are being held normally today. Schoolchildren of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in secondary schools in Gnjilane and Vucitrn came back to the classrooms. They did so after being reassured by the top Serbian republican bodies that they would be protected from any possible assault by Albanian nationalists and separatists. Lessons are being held also in schools in Podujevo, although the attendance is smaller than usual. The Provincial Secretariat for Education, Science, and Culture expects that lessons will be held as normal on 3 April. The reduced absenteeism from schools testifies that the political situation in Kosovo is gradually becoming normal. This is also shown by the fact that no incident of public disorder was recorded today.

The more peaceful atmosphere in Kosovo was not disturbed even by new cases of "poisoning" of several schoolchildren of Albanian nationality in Urosevac. On the other hand, about 30 Serbian, Montenegrin, Muslim, and Turkish doctors from the internal diseases clinic in Pristina today demanded that protagonists of the alleged poisoning of Albanians be called to account. At the same time, they in particular singled out Dr. Aljusa Gasi, the dean of the medical faculty in Pristina.

The unsettled situation and still-existing Kosovo divisions are evident in the action of the majority of representatives of the Albanian youth, who demonstratively walked out from a meeting in Pristina that discussed the program of the Kosovo Socialist Youth Federation and its transformation into a Social Democratic Alliance. The youth of the Albanian nationality explained their action by the fact that there were no translations available; following this, the otherwise well-planned gathering was broken off.

The Committee for Truth about Kosovo today supported the action of its representatives at the recent roundtable talks organized by the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative in Pristina. In a statement for the public, the committee claims that the Kosovo alternative movement, from the most sinster terroristic positions, declared itself as the unrelenting enemy of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples in Kosovo and Metohija.

KDA, Other Groups Protest 'Mass Poisoning'

AU0204122890 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 24 Mar 90 p 6

[B. Haliti report: "Appeal to Citizens to Beware of Provocations"]

[Text] The 23 March regular news conference of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [KDA], chaired by Ibrahim Rugova, was attended not only by journalists from Kosovo and Yugoslavia, but by a delegation of the Norwegian Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice—involved in the issue of emigration to Norway—which is currently visiting Kosovo.

At the start of the news conference, Ibrahim Rugova said that the KDA, alongside the other alternative movements, had protested on 22 March against the mass poisoning of school pupils in Podujevo and various other parts of Kosovo. The protest, which was also handed to journalists, strongly deplored and condemned such attempts to endanger people's lives, to provoke interethnic conflicts in Kosovo, and to incite large-scale interethnic skirmishes. The protest calls on citizens not to submit to such an unprecedented provocation, to find strength to cope with the difficulties, and to show a high level of awareness and an ability to refrain from acts of vengeance, so that people's justifiable protests may be turned into an unshakable determination for a quiet life and further democratization, thereby testifying to their conviction that this is the only way to deflect every destructive aim of those who contrive such provocations.

Ibrahim Rugova then said that the KDA also strongly protests the act of vandalism on the occasion of the foundation of the KDA's Lipljan branch, and the meeting held the following day in Lipljan. The KDA then called on the state authorities to abandon the police persecution of Zekeria Cana and return his passport; they called for an end to the differentiation of the teaching staff at Pristina University and called on the League of Communists to turn itself into an alternative movement, thus adapting itself to the multiparty system in Kosovo. Ibrahim Rugova ended by saying that the KDA considers unconstitutional the decision to appoint a deputy secretary of the Republican Executive Council to be based in Pristina, because this, he said, recalls the prewar years.

An open letter from the KDA to the Kosovo Assembly delegates was distributed to journalists at this news conference, which stated that the KDA, as an organization with democratic aims and with a democratic program, supports in principle the initiative for constitutional changes, but nevertheless considers unacceptable the way the socialist autonomous provinces are treated in the text of the initiative of the SFRY Presidency for drafting the country's new constitution, because it is a retrograde step and a blow to the constitutional position of Kosovo, thereby also constituting a blow to national equality in Yugoslavia. The KDA, therefore, invites the Kosovo Provincial Assembly not to agree with the SFRY Presidency's initiative unless essential changes are made in the way the constitutional position of Kosovo is viewed and the political status of Kosovo is reexamined in a positive way. The letter also states that the Kosovo Assembly, if it approves the text of the initiative, will fall into flagrant opposition against those whom the delegates represent and with the will of the Albanians and the people of Kosovo. Among reasons why conditions are not ripe for the approval of an initiative for a new constitution, the KDA mentions the failure to create a multiparty system and the state of emergency that is still in force in Kosovo.

The KDA, at the end of its letter, commits itself to an independent defense and expression of the constitutional character of the province within the federation and to the broadest possible autonomy of Kosovo in the legislative sphere and in other areas of political and social life.

The KDA considers the proclamation of 28 March as the state holiday of the Socialist Republic of Serbia to be a clear provocation aiming at a further escalation of political conflicts in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, and calls on its members, all citizens, pupils, and students, to express through normal life and work their determination for democracy and the kind of Kosovo they want.

Luljeta Pula-Beqiri, in the name of the KDA Women's Association, read an appeal addressed to UNICEF describing the position of children in Kosovo, and asking for this international association to create a special commission to investigate the recent mass poisoning of Kosovo schoolchildren.

The KDA Women's Association also protested the scandalous Belgrade Television report on 22 March on the poisoning of the Albanian pupils, by its Kosovo correspondent Milisav Milic, and called it an example of the now typical subjection of Yugoslav public opinion to propaganda pressure.

Zenun Celaj, in the name of the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Kosovo, protested against medical personnel being prevented from carrying out their professional duty of treating those poisoned, against the security organs who prevented the sick being taken to hospital, and the imprisonment of the medical students who helped to treat those who had been poisoned. Viber Hysa, in the name of the Kosovo Youth Parliament, protested the imprisonment of 40 Pristina Medical Faculty students, on the pretext, he said, that they had no permits to work.

As usual, journalists asked many questions at this news conference, to which full answers were given.

Kosovars Protest Militia 'Maltreatment'

AU0204203490 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 30 Mar 90 p 10

[Unattributed report: "State Forces Too Should Help To Stop Vendettas"]

[Text] "The vendetta is an especially disturbing social problem in Kosovo, and the state forces also should help prevent it because vendettas add to crimes against human life and against the person. In the past, conciliation councils have worked to prevent this antisocial phenomenon, and state forces have always supported them.

"Unfortunately, in recent days it has been none other than individuals in the militia who have behaved in an extraordinary fashion toward some families who have extended the hand of reconciliation to each other and laid their feuds to rest, and not only toward these families alone, but toward some members of the conciliation councils who have acted as intermediaries. The maltreatment, beating, and imprisonment of members of reconciled families, such as have occurred in Dusanovo, Budisavci, and the village of Crni Lug near Malisevo, are incomprehensible. They have taken place merely because these families have become reconciled and have forgiven each other the blood of their relatives, thus becoming freed from many years of imprisonment in their homes. The Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms therefore vigorously protests against the illegal behavior of militia members against innocent citizens because an end to vendettas, as a harmful phenomenon with dire social consequences, is in the interests of society."

This was stated in a communique issued by the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina, signed by academician Idriz Ajeti, chairman.

Workers Aktiv Discusses Serbian LC

LD0204215390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—If the League of Communists is to "leave" enterprises, workers will be excluded from political life. The League of Communists [LC] of Serbia should not, therefore, abandon the so-called principle of operating within the organizational scheme. This was said today at a session of the LC aktiv of immediate producers, which met to discuss a document on the Serbian LC as a political party.

Members of the aktiv warned, however, that in future, Communists in work collectives should meet outside working hours or during weekends to avoid being criticized for "again attending meetings instead of working."

Judging by today's debate, the working class has much more in common with Dimitrije Tucovic and Svetozar Markovic [19th century Serbian Social Democrats] than with Marx and Engels. An appeal was made at the session to change the name of the League of Communists to reflect this traditional tendency of the workers and communist movement.

For instance, Srboljub Ristic suggested that the Serbian LC be renamed the Serbian Democratic Party. He also said that if the Serbian LC was to become a modern party, it had to provide more freedom and greater rights for its members in electing most responsible party leaders. I want to be able to freely express my view of, among others, the Serbian LC president without negative consequences, Ristic said.

In addition to calls for the democratization of relations within the party, which was said to have started immediately upon the eighth plenum of Serbian Communists, suggestions were also made that in the future younger and uncompromised cadres should be elected to responsible posts.

Slovene Opposition Leader at Election Meeting

LD0304084790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian0 703 GMT 3 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Maribor, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—It is not true that the Slovene opposition only criticizes those in power. On the contrary, it is seeking a mandate for itself in the elections to introduce a new political system and implement is positive program of political and economic reforms. This was stressed, among other things, by Dr. Joze Pucnik, opposition candidate for Republic of Slovenia president, at a preelection meeting of seven opposition parties in Maribor, which was held on 2 April in the packed Union Hall in the city center.

Joze Pucnik, presidential candidate in Sunday's elections and leader of Demos, the Democratic Opposition of Slovenia, used the preelection meeting in Maribor to direct sharp criticism at the authorities in Slovenia. According to him, the Slovene authorities made a fatal mistake when they gave their consent to the constitutional amendments to the SFRY Constitution and when they agreed to the federal budget, which overburdens the Slovene economy.

Pucnik promised the electorate that in the event of an opposition victory in the elections, Slovenia would give significantly less funds to the federal budget because its industry is run down and cannot carry such a burden. For this to be possible, it is necessary, according to him, to achieve Slovenia's full sovereignty. [passage omitted]

Slovene Leader Kucan on Developments, Election

AU0204115490 Vienna PROFIL in German 2 Apr 90 p 54

[Interview with Milan Kucan, Communist Party of Slovenia presidential candidate, by Manfred Scheuch; place and date not given: "An Interesting Constellation"]

[Text] [Scheuch] Will the development toward pluralism that has started in Slovenia spread to the whole of Yugoslavia?

[Kucan] The League of Communists' monopoly is one of the reasons for Yugoslavia's deep crisis. One should give my party—the Slovene party—credit for arriving at its decisions without external pressure but on the basis of the recognition of the situation. We suggested eliminating the article in the Constitution that stipulates the leading role of the Communists. We always demanded that the party relinquish its power—which naturally does not mean that it will give up its aspirations to power. However, we want it to be legitimized in free and secret elections. This practically means a division between the party and the state, the liberation of the state from the power of the party. I am convinced that this process will spread to the whole of Yugoslavia. It will no longer be possible to oppose this development—unless one uses brute force.

[Scheuch] Did you meet with resistance in the party?

[Kucan] Of course there are a number of people in the party who belong to generations that had completely different ideas. However, they are also disappointed about the actual conditions. Thus, the readiness for reform also developed in these people. There are certainly differences as to future prospects. Many wonder whether all these reforms will not simply lead to a restoration of capitalism. However, what is more disquieting is the uncertainty whether anticommunism and even revanchism, which emerges occasionally among the opposition, might have a specific impact. We have no guarantee that there will be no acts of revenge. Certain opposition leaders have made it clear that, if elected, they want to change the whole administration of the state as if it were totally contaminated by the communist bacillus.

[Scheuch] It might happen after the elections that you become president but that you are facing a parliamentary majority and a government dominated by the opposition.

[Kucan] This is possible—and an interesting political constellation. The constitutional responsibility of the president is rather limited, and I think this is good. Parliament must be the center of political power. However, no matter who will be elected, the elected person must be aware of the fact that he is the president of all Slovenes. Within the league, the presidents of individual republics have no direct political influence, but every wise policy in a complicated multiracial state should be based on the moral standing of the presidents of the individual republics.

[Scheuch] The Slovenes have left the Yugoslav party congress. What are your plans now?

[Kucan] The answer to the question of why we left the congress is contained in the question. We could not identify with the program that the congress wanted to force on us. It is not a suitable instrument for overcoming the crisis in Yugoslavia. With this program, we would have lost all influence on our own people. Also, we cannot believe that the majority of the congress represented the real interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia. We cannot believe that the majority of the Yugoslavs does not want to become part of Europe—of course by taking into consideration everything that our slogan "Europe today" symbolizes. We want to cooperate with all forces in Yugoslavia that advocate democracy, the rule of law, and that guarantee human dignity, basic rights, and the right to freedom. We want to cooperate with all who strive for a successful economy, who promote creativity, initiatives, and the comprehensive development of man, and all who want to ensure security and better living conditions through work. We want to collaborate with all who support the equality of all nations in the common state of the Yugoslav people. This would allow Yugoslavia to play an active role in the European process of integration.

[Scheuch] This sounds very good. However, what will happen if opposite tendencies prevail?

[Kucan] We do not want to impose our ideas on life in Slovenia on anybody. If a comprehensive discussion shows that other peoples want something different—which I do not believe—the Slovenes will insist on their natural right to self-determination. We should not forget that this common state was the result of the voluntary decisions of its peoples. We Slovenes have decided in favor of common life because this seemed to be the best way to ensure the comprehensive development of our people. If this comprehensive and free development is no longer possible, if it should be restricted, there is no longer any reason why we should remain within this federation. I am very much in favor of every people deciding freely, after a real discussion, on its future fate.

Slovenia's Ribicic Assails Pucnik

LD0204213490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1414 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 April (TANJUG)—Dr. Ciril Ribicic, leader of the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Renewal, has sent an "open letter to Dr. Joze Pucnik and the Slovene public." Pucnik is one of the four presidential candidates who, together with Milan Kucan, Ivan Kramberger, and Dr. Marko Demsar, is campaigning for the post of president of the Republic of Slovenia Presidency in the elections on 8 April.

"Your kindly preelection smile 'of a good democrat' is deceitful and your words against revanchism are a deception, if one is to judge from the latest act of your party," Dr. Ribicic begins in his "letter" and goes on: "In your public speeches you try to act in a well-mannered, almost conciliatory way, while activists of your Social Democratic Alliance are sticking up notices throughout Slovenia in which you categorize me as a Stalin, Ceausescu, Honecker, Zhivkov, Kim Il-song, and negative personalities from the history of Stalinism and totalitarianism. I am also lumped together with Morina and Milosevic, who would certainly be satisfied if some one were able to remove these stubborn and persistent Slovene reformists.

Ribicic also raises the question of whether, if he gains power, Pucnik would permit the printing and posting of similar notices at his own expense. "After the publication of the posters of your party it is clear that you want, by imputing things to history and falsifying it, to win the votes you are lacking. Have you already judged that you cannot gain the degree of trust you want by democratic methods, and self-consciously herald it?" asks Dr. Ribicic, Central Committee president of the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Change, asks.

"I do not want the posters to be legally banned; let them remain intact as an original proof of the cultural level to which we have previously become accustomed only from the headquarters of the Serbian anti-bureaucratic revolution."

"Everyone who has, like me, previously trusted your calm speeches can now see the true character of 'social democracy' and the Demos associated opposition, as you yourselves have portrayed it in the posters about good democrats," Dr. Ribicic writes and ends with the words: "In your posters you are in the company of Brandt, Palme, and Craxi, Mitterrand, and Vranitzky, albeit without their agreement! It seems to me that the little people in such company are even more insignificant than they truly are."

Slovene Opposition Formulates Draft Constitution

AU0204170090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Relja Atanasijevic report]

[Text] [Announcer] Representatives of 10 parties, organizations, and societies—mainly from the opposition in Slovenia—held a meeting today concerning the new republican constitution. They discussed the opposition's draft of the Slovene constitution, which seeks to have a multiparty parliament adopt the draft by June at the latest. Relja Atanasijevic reports from Ljubljana:

[Atanasijevic] Obviously proceeding from the assumption that the opposition will win at the elections that begin on 8 April, the authors have based the concept of the new draft constitution on the model of foreign and developed Western states but have added as original features only those provisions that are specific to Slovenia.

This document envisions a general reconstruction of the republic's whole structure, from the Assembly, which should have a single chamber, to the place, role, and powers of the president of Slovenia and the government's president. It also includes a quite different way of organizing the communes.

On behalf of the society of Slovene writers, (?Veno Tavser) said that this is the first act of Slovene statehood. If we do not take advantage of this opportunity, we will not be able to retake the examination, he said and recommended that the proposed draft of the new constitution be supported so that it can be adopted as soon as possible in the Assembly.

Joze Skolc, leader of the Liberals, reacted to this. He retorted that it was unjustified for those present at this meeting to invoke the May Declaration because it has an ideological hue. He recommended that the process for formulating the new constitution also include parties that represent the left-wing bloc but that were not taking part in the discussion today. Skolc expressed the belief that it is impossible to adopt the constitution in an urgent procedure.

This view was supported by (?Tone Prsek) who said, as regards the legal regulations in the proposal, that these could be very dangerous as they are. (?Matjaz Skrivic) was of the same opinion: He thought that the wrong road had been chosen. He recommended that Slovenia's present constitutional provisions should continue to be used as they are better and more realistic in many respects than the new ones.

Slovene, Macedonian Communists Present Stands

AU0304085290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24-25 Mar 90 p 16

[N. Batkoski report: "Similarities and Differences"]

[Text] Skopje—The party leaderships of Macedonia and Slovenia met in Skopje yesterday as part of a series of talks between the leaderships of the republican Leagues of Communists [LC]. At the news conference held afterward, Petar Gosev, Central Committee president of the LC of Macedonia, and Ciril Ribicic, Central Committee president of the LC of Slovenia, stated that, apart from when it comes to the economic role of the federation, they hold identical views on the economic reform in Yugoslavia and similar views on the changes in the political system because both parties are of the opinion that the system should be multiparty and parliamentary, and that it should proceed from the citizen.

During the conversation with the journalists, they expressed different views on relations in the federation. The LCM [former initials of the League of Communists of Macedonia]-Party of Democratic Transformation is in favor of a confederation. The views concerning the Yugoslav People's Army and the political assessments of the situation in Kosovo differed. Both the Macedonian and the Slovene leadership hold the view that the principle of democratic centralism should not be exercised in the LC of Yugoslavia, and that the right to equality among all republican party organizations should be respected.

Answering a question concerning confederation and federation, Ciril Ribicic said that the LC of Slovenia favors a confederation, but that it differs from the Slovene opposition in that the Slovene opposition strives for the secession of Slovenia. Ribicic substantiated his assessment with the findings of the public opinion polls and the views of the party membership in Slovenia. Gosev said that the federal community founded on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles facilitates better functioning of the economic system and the Yugoslav market, and that the federative relations strengthen Yugoslavia's reputation abroad.

About the congress—Ribicic: A new congress could be convened provided that the party leadership of Yugoslavia stops hindering democratic reforms.

Gosev: It is not possible to continue the congress. Convening a new congress would be possible provided that there is the minimum necessary unity regarding the program. A proposal to convene a new founding congress of the reformed LC of Yugoslavia could also be considered.

About Kosovo—Gosev: The views on Kosovo are different. In Slovenia people do not distinguish between the struggle for the rights and freedoms of citizens and the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism.

Ribicic: The escalation of separatism is the result of repression and the use of force in Kosovo, which has in turn adversely affected the position of Serbs and Montenegrins in this province.

About alternative parties in Kosovo—Ribicic: One must not lump everybody together. We need a dialogue with those who are supported by the people.

Gosev: We need to hold a dialogue with those alternative groups that are pro-Yugoslav.

About the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Yugoslavia—Gosev: The Presidium represents the remnants of the leadership of the LC of Yugoslavia. Pancevski and other members of the federal party leadership from Macedonia can act as they please, even contrary to the stands of the LC of Macedonia, but the LC of Macedonia has already gone quite far with reform processes. There is no need for them to withdraw or recall the members of the federal party leadership from Macedonia because this would be the old method of conducting showdowns in the party.

Ribicic: The Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Yugoslavia represents only the remnants of the leadership of the former LC of Yugoslavia.

About the possibility of rapprochement between the stands of the republican party leaderships—Ribicic: A dialogue is a possibility, and so is even a league of parties for democratic socialism from all over Yugoslavia. The last session of the LC of Serbia Central Committee, at which the party announced its transformation, indicates that there could be rapprochement between the views of the Slovene and Serbian parties.

Gosev: Talks between the republican party leaderships are useful and are contributing to the clarification of ambiguities and differences. A Yugoslav synthesis is necessary.

About chances at upcoming elections—Ribicic: The election race has started in Slovenia and will be uncertain. We have presented our stands. They are different from those of other parties in Slovenia. A coalition with the Alliance of Socialists (former Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia) and the Liberal Party (former League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia) is a possibility.

Gosev: We will present our program once the rules of the election game are known in Macedonia and once the election campaign starts. We hope to win but will think about a coalition if the need for this arises.

Ljubljanca TV To Cover Slovene Elections

LD0204170990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1346 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—From early on 8 April up to 0200 on 9 April, Ljubljana television will monitor the elections for the president and members of the Slovene Presidency and for delegates to the Slovene Assembly's two chambers. This was stated today at a news conference organized by Ljubljana Television.

On the same day, Ljubljana Television will broadcast three short programs under the headline "We are voting today" that will include reports from the republic's Assembly—the headquarters of the electoral commission—and from polling stations throughout Slovenia. Reports will also be broadcast from the election headquarters of individual parties. There will be talks with parliamentarians and observers from abroad.

Representatives of the republic's electoral commission are expecting initial unofficial and incomplete results of the voting for president and members of the Presidency to be known by 0200 on 9 April. Ljubljana Television will be on the air to announce the results and the reaction of the winners.

Boris Bergant, Ljubljana television assistant director for internal cooperation, today announced that Ljubljana Television had put forward its candidacy for the headquarters of Euronews that, according to a plan, will be a European equivalent of the American CNN. As a member of the European Broadcasting Union, Ljubljana Television has the right to submit its candidacy. The whole project is expected to be launched at the beginning of 1991.

It was also announced today that for Catholic Easter, Ljubljana Television will for the first time transmit Easter Mass from St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.

Croatian Youth Federation Formed

LD0204151290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Zagreb, 2 Apr (TANJUG)—After the end of the 12th Congress of the Croatian Socialist Youth Federation, at which the Republican Conference of the Croatian Socialist Youth Federation was disbanded, delegates of 68 municipal youth conferences have constituted the Croatian Youth Federation.

The municipal conferences, which had previously adopted decisions on accepting the draft congressional documents on the transformation of the youth organization into the Croatian Youth Federation, have joined the new social organization of young people, and accepted the statute of the Croatian Federation.

Over the next two months, the period, according to the decision of the congress, in which the youth organization in the republic is to be transformed, it is expected that the number of municipal conferences joining the Croatian Youth Federation will increase.

Croatian Opposition Condemns Tudjman 'Attack'

AU0204215990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 90 p 4

[Sanja Modric report: " 'Assassination of Democracy'"]

[Text] Zagreb—The armed attack on Croatian Democratic Community leader Dr. Franjo Tudjman has, regardless of the consequences, introduced great discord and uncertainty into the election race in Croatia and is stoking up quarrels among the electorate and division among members of the Croatian and Serbian nationalities. Behind this act lies the obvious intention to halt the democratic processes in Croatia and the country. During the meeting of the Croatian Democratic Community in Benkovac, the state forces did not carry out their duties or protect the physical integrity of the citizens who had gathered there. Regardless of the differences in view, and even disagreements, we consider the attack on Dr. Tudjman to be an event that absolutely cannot be justified in any way.

These briefly are the stands of the Croatian "Coalition of National Understanding" that were presented at the 19 Mar news conference that was called by members of this coalition's joint committee in order to "express their bitterness at the attack on the leader of a legitimate political party." The leaders of all the parties in the coalition (the Croatian Christian Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, the Croatian Democratic Party, the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance, and the Croatian Peasant Party) and nonparty members of the coalition (Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, Ivan Supek, Mika Tripalo, Dragutin Haramija, and Srecko Bijelic) have unanimously condemned the event in Benkovac and made the joint demand that all factors in the electoral race be allowed to freely express their political views.

Jure Sonje (Croatian Peasant Party), as well as some other party representatives, stressed that in the electoral campaign so far they had had significant difficulties with both the security forces and political opponents. Sonje said that the militia in Opuzen had confiscated the first edition of the magazine of the Croatian Peasant Party, DOM, without any explanation. Problems were also noticed in Nova Gradiska with the sale of party publications, and some party leaders—as Ivan Cesar (Croatian Christian-Democratic Party) said —continually receive threatening telephone calls. The killing of Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, Mika Tripalo, and other more prominent opposition leaders has even been mentioned. At the same time, Slobodan Praljak (Croatian Democratic Party) stressed that chauvinist shouting at Petrova Gora and direct threats of armed attacks did not disturb the internal affairs representatives, nor did they ban all sorts of foreign flags and dubious symbols from being brought into Croatia.

Jure Sonje stressed that all parties in the coalition will advocate that the elections in Croatia be held in peace and safety, and he informed the journalists that the leadership of the Croatian Peasant Party definitely prevented its militant wing from attempting to organize mass demonstrations at Petrova Gora on 18 March an expression of disagreement with the well-known rally that had already been held there. As we heard, Vjekoslav Magas, initiator of the Croatian Peasant Party's militant wing, has been suspended.

Anton Vujic (Social Democratic Party of Croatia), Slavko Goldstein, Mika Tripalo, and some other speakers stressed on 19 March that neither they nor their party rank and file agreed with some parts of the Croatian Democratic Community platform and speeches by its leaders. However, only verbal polemics —even the fiercest—are allowed in an election campaign, but everybody must be guaranteed absolute security and free expression of political views.

Ivan Cesar even thought it quite appropriate that republican Internal Affairs Secretary Vilim Mulc himself should submit his irrevocable resignation.

It was also said that it would be very dangerous to exclude pluralist party campaigns from regions in which the Serbian population predominated because Serbs have the right, like citizens in Croatia, to be offered everything that exists on the political stage in the republic.

Slavko Goldstein stressed in particular that the coalition wants a constant and normal dialogue with the Serbian population and that he does not in the least generalize the pro-Chetnik attack on Tudjman and equate it with the aspirations of Serbs in Croatia.

Opinion Poll in Bosnia on Interethnic Relations

AU0204143990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 90 p 4

[M.L. report: "Bosnia-Hercegovina Is Not Losing Identity"]

[Text] Sarajevo—The Institute for the Research of National Relations in Sarajevo has conducted the first public opinion poll in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the results of which were presented at a news conference on 21 March. The research was conducted among 842 people. In the opinion of 58.4 percent of those people, interethnic relations have been aggravated. More than half of the people polled assess that Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot lose its identity, but there is also a high percentage, 49 percent of the people, who think that it can do so. This research has shown that 64 of the people polled do not approve of meetings as a political method of solving problems.

The question of whether measures by the Federal Executive Council are useful for the whole of Yugoslavia received a positive response from 57.9 percent of the people polled, while 16.8 percent are of the opinion that these measures suit northwestern republics better. In the opinion of 65.9 percent of the people polled, the measures taken by the SFRY Presidency in Kosovo were justified. There is another interesting detail: 63.2 percent were in favor of the article on verbal offense.

'Defeat' of Montenegrin LC Leadership Viewed

AU0204145790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 90 p 4

[S.V. report: "'A Blow' at the Session"]

[Text] Titograd—The session of the Montenegrin Assembly that was held on 21 March was yet another "defeat" for the League of Communists [LC]. Everything was clear as concerns the electoral laws: The elections have to be postponed. The party delegates were against this and lost by a huge majority. When it came to voting for the soonest possible election of the president and the Socialist Republic of Montenegro Presidency, the LC suffered a catastrophic defeat. Three delegates from all three chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly voted for their proposal, two abstained, and the others were against.

On the same day, Srdjan Darmanovic, Central Committee Presidium member of the LC of Montenegro, brought an open letter to our editorial office concerning his leaving the Central Committee and stepping down from all the posts he holds in it. The letter says, among other things: "I am not prepared to agree to an alliance with obviously conservative political forces and groupings within the party and outside it, and I do not want to bear responsibility for the possible consequences that could arise from it." Another Presidency member, Vehbo Hot, had left this party forum before him.

In the meantime, since 28 April of last year, when the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Montenegro was elected after the famous extraordinary 10th congress of this republic's LC, and October and January, when "the people entered the scene," it has happened that the most democratically elected Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Montenegro has actually been halved in only nine months. Of the 11 elected Presidency members, there are now only five. Dr. Dragan Radonjic was elected Montenegrin parliament president, Dr. Milutin Lalic is the chairman of Montenegro's delegation in the SFRY Assembly, and Dr. Todor Bakovic moved to the post of republican secretary for labor, health, and social policy. Danilo Burzan and Ismet Kalac left the Central Committee for personal reasons. In the meantime, Milan Gajovic, former executive secretary, and Zoran Zizic were elected to the Presidium.

Many people will perhaps be surprised at these numerous, quick nine-month changes but it should be borne in mind that many such things have happened in Montenegro in the last year more quickly than in other communities. Extraordinary elections were conducted here before they were in other republics. Democracy has obviously gone at a quicker pace than in other republics and has created many opportunities that, to judge by everything, the LC will have to think about the most. The LC traditionally has great support in Montenegro, so that even though the next elections have been postponed until fall against its will, they is nevertheless a great opportunity for the Communists.

Government Disagrees With Chamber Proposal

LD0204225790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2215 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Text] Belgrade, April 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic's government this evening dissassociated itself from solutions proposed by a working group of the federal parliament as an alternative to the future makeup of one of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly, as well as the procedure concerning the change of the Yugoslav constitution.

Federal Secretary for Judiciary and Administration Dr. Vlado Kambovski stated this evening at a press conference in Belgrade that latest initiatives have not been [word indistinct] in proposals of the Ante Markovic government and the assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina concerning the change of the Yugoslav constitution on which all federal units have so far taken a stand.

Kambovski assessed that alternative proposals of the Assembly of Yugoslavia working group abandon the principle of parity representation of federal units in the federal chamber and introduce the principle of one man-one vote. This changes not only the manner of constituting the parliament chamber, but the mechanism of decision making in the federation, Kambovski considers.

Kambovski specified that the principle of proportional election is contrary to the currently valid principle on the sovereignty of the Yugoslav republics, which may be accepted in the new Yugoslav constitution.

The present federal chamber of the assembly of Yugoslavia has 220 delegates who equally present six Yugoslav republics of which the smallest, Montenegro, has the population of some 700,000, and the largest, Serbia, more than 8 million. Two autonomous provinces are proportionally represented, as well.

As far as constitutional changes are involved, the federal parliament working group proposed that the federal government decide to start with the changes when the assemblies of all republics and provinces give their opinion, and not their approval as was the case so far.

Opinion has a "different quality" from approval, Kambovski specified.

The introduction of new proposals, besides the original proposals of the federal government and the Bosnia-Herzegovina assembly, will make the constitutional change more difficult, Kambovski thinks.

Premier Markovic announced amendments to the present constitution in the second half of December last year. These amendments are designed to enable a more successful implementation of the economic reform, as well as the democratization of the political life in Yugoslavia. However, there is still a considerable number of opposite views in debates on constitutional norms.

Statistics Official Releases Inflation Figures

LD0204211190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 2 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 April (TANJUG)—Inflation amounted to 2.6 percent from 1 to 31 March; measured from 21 February to 21 March it was 5.2 percent, Dr. Dragutin Grupkovic, director of the Federal Statistics Institute, announced today. At a news conference, Dr. Grupkovic added that inflation in April, if the present fall in prices continues, will probably be nil.

The director of the federal institute also recalled the inflation trends from the end of last year up to today. Retail prices in December, compared to November 1989, grew by 58.8 percent. In January, monthly inflation was 17.3 percent, and measured from 21 December last year to 21 January this year, it was 41.5 percent. [passage omitted]

Belgrade Democratic Party Publishes Own Paper

AU0204162890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 90 p 9

[Report on interview with DEMOKRATIJA chief editor Dr. Aleksandar Ilic by Vesna Roganovic; place and date not given: "Dissidents Facing a Test of Power"]

[Excerpts] Among numerous newly founded or revived parties, the Belgrade-based Democratic Party is distinguished by its pronounced literary-intellectual provenance and by a fairly long list of founders that includes the names of such prominent people as Borislav Pekic, Dr. Dragoljub Micunovic, Kosta Cavoski, Milovan Danojlic, Zoran Djindjic.... Observers are ascribing the nonaggressive character of the party to this creative potential; instead of promoting a direct fight for power in its program, it insists on establishing democracy and a parliamentary political system. Judging by the just-published first issue of DEMOKRATIJA, this intellectual "line" will also be fostered by the party's paper, which is in fact the first opposition paper in Serbia after several decades of the media's "unanimity" (that is, if one excludes the informal opposition of the youth papers and KNJIZEVNE NOVINE).

This new fact in the current of democracy in Serbia was our reason for talking to Dr. Aleksandar Ilic, chief editor of the new paper DEMOKRATIJA and writer and lecturer at the Department for World Literature at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade, about the phenomenon of an intellectual facing a test of holding power and a change in the involvement of the intelligentsia, which is finally emerging on the political stage completely naturally, without the previously "independent" dissident "laurels." [passage omitted]

[Roganovic] The "move" that you made by pursuing a readership without waiting or asking for permission and regardless of the risks (although they are smaller than before) could, however, speed up some processes that you summarized in the almost century-old slogan "The press in Serbia is free," and that you are proposing instead of the new, voluminous law on information dissemination.

[Ilic] We have produced a paper modeled on other times, such as the period in Serbia under King Petar I. The paper has not been banned despite the fact that it has been published independently. We are looking forward to changes in legislation and in all laws, including the law on newspaper publishing, and hope that the new law will protect press freedom rather than restrict it. [passage omitted]

[Roganovic] The "Democrats," at whom this paper is aimed, sharply criticized the philosophical-theoretical character (a la KNIZEVNE NOVINE) of the majority of the articles in the first issue of DEMOKRATIJA. It appears that your party "flock" is not all that keen on "prisoners of conscience"—Popper, Solzhenitsyn, Havel, Kundera, Konrad, Koestler, Milos, Kolakowski.... Is your editorial board ready to make, let us say, certain popular concessions, or will it try to reeducate the "people" itself?

[Ilic] I would not agree with you. Of course, the paper will have several pages devoted to live, controversial, current affairs and to political, legal, and economic issues, but at the same time I think that it is necessary to develop democracy, which was in our country most often shaped by banned writers. Without Popper, Hayek, Aron, Koestler, and others, our democratic conscience would be considerably impoverished. These authors will remain on DEMOKRATIJA's pages.

Journalist Demoted for Uncovering Scandals

AU0204153790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 90 p 5

[P. Mrdjanov report: "Reputation According to Birth Certificate"]

[Text] Pozarevac—Dragan Stodic, the best-known Pozarevac journalist, who is employed in the REC NARODA Newspaper Work Organization and who has uncovered 10 Pozarevac scandals in the last few months, including the affair concerning tampering with Bogoljub Jovanovic's electricity meter, has been transferred overnight to a job in administration. This was done on the orders of provincial bosses by Mihailo Stamatovic, director of the Pozarevac REC NARODA newspaper information house where Stodic has been working for 10 years. The explanation of the order transferring the prominent journalist to a job as a bookkeeper, liquidator, and analyst says that, in writing as a free-lance contributor for VECERNJE NOVOSTI and BORBA, "he had portrayed the situation in Pozarevac—Slobodan Milosevic's birthplace—in a tendentious way."

It is assumed that the following are behind the whole affair: Vlajko Stojiljkovic, Pozarevac agro-industrial collective president and Central Committee member of the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia, who is an increasingly discredited "big shot;" Ljubisa Obradovic, Communal Committee president of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, whom Stodic has also written about in a "negative way;" Bogoljub Jovanovic, communal assembly president, whom workers at the Elektromorava plant accused of stealing electricity and tampering with an electricity meter; and Dragomir Milenkovic, former president of the communal assembly and the LC Communal Committee. On the same day that the journalist was handed the decision on his transfer to the position of clerk, 13 of his colleagues reacted by sending a protest letter to the Trade Union Communal Committee and the LC Communal Committee. This statement says that this arbitrary act by the omnipotent director Stamatovic, who was elected director five years ago thanks to his political links, is base, vindictive, and directed against the freedom of the press and the public word. "The decision was handed to our journalist an hour after a workers' meeting at which he zealously advocated a referendum to elect the chief and responsible editor of Radio Pozarevac and the local newspaper. These posts are now held by Milorad Antonijevic, who has been breaking the law for years and has not been keeping records on program recordings, and Predrag Radovanovic, the newspaper editor who has been chief editor for more than a decade and a half," the journalist Mile Veljkovic said. At previous meetings, Stodic had also advocated the elimination of the party organization from his collective, the rehabilitation of journalists who had received party punishments for committing verbal offenses, and a market orientation for the newspaper information house where he works.

Measures Planned Against Asylum Seekers

AU0204144590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Everyone Suffers Because of the Bogus Ones"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—The FRG Government has announced that it will soon be introducing visas for Yugoslav citizens if the number of "bogus asylum-seekers" from Yugoslavia does not fall. This could also influence other West European countries to introduce visas for Yugoslavs, which could have damaging consequences for the interests and standing of Yugoslavia and could essentially hinder travel by its citizens to these countries. This is presented in a statement by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs on conditions for entry into the FRG by SFRY citizens, their stay in that country, and measures for reducing the number of bogus "asylum-seekers" from Yugoslavia.

The Statement With Passports

The statement has been forwarded to republican and provincial secretaries for internal affairs. It will be translated into the languages of the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia and distributed to every person when they are issued travel documents or when these are extended.

The statement says further that the FRG and other EEC countries have introduced and are implementing measures limiting the continued employment of foreign workers. Foreign workers are only allowed employment if they are in possession of the appropriate work permit that is issued beforehand by the diplomatic-consulate representatives of the FRG abroad. [passage omitted]

Bearing all this in mind, as well as the fact that Yugoslavs cannot receive asylum by falsely claiming that they are politically persecuted and they cannot expect to exercise their right to residence, employment, or financial aid from the FRG by submitting a request for asylum and the fact that by behaving in this way they are violating both foreign and domestic regulations, the SFRY internal affairs bodies are taking the following measures:

They are confiscating the travel documents of people who have violated the regulations in the country where they were living and particularly of people who have been deported, as well as of those for whom it has been established that they falsely claimed in the FRG or some other country that they were politically persecuted in the SFRY;

They are sharpening the criteria for issuing and extending travel documents;

They are increasing activity to discover who organizes and "guides" the Yugoslav "bogus asylum-seekers" across the border and to eliminate the channels for illegally crossing the state border, for which strict measures have been envisioned in line with the law, the statement by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs says.

Korosec Appointed Ambassador to Portugal

AU0204175790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 90 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Korosec To Be Ambassador to Portugal"]

[Text] Belgrade—At the 29 March session chaired by President Dr. Janez Drnovsek, the SFRY Presidency discussed the current situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the duties of the state bodies in that connection.

It also discussed a report on the visit SFRY Presidency President Dr. Janez Drnovsek paid to Namibia, where he attended the proclamation of the Republic of Namibia's independence, his working and friendly visit to the Republic of Senegal, as well as the attendance of SFRY Presidency Vice President Dr. Borisav Jovic at the inauguration of the presidents of Chile and Brazil.

Hailing the independence of Namibia, the SFRY Presidency said that the participation of President Drnovsek—as head of state and chairman of the Nonaligned Movement—in the celebrations of the proclamation of Namibia's independence, as well as his many bilateral meetings with representatives of many countries, were a good opportunity for open and substantial talks and for furthering Yugoslavia's relations with all these countries.

The SFRY Presidency has positively assessed the presence of SFRY Presidency Vice President Dr. Borisav Jovic at the inauguration of Patricio Aywlin Azocar as the Republic of Chile president, and Fernando Collor de Mello as president of Brazil, as well as meetings and talks with top representatives of other countries who attended these celebrations.

The SFRY Presidency decided to inform the public that at its session held on 8 March it decided in a majority vote to appoint Stefan Korosec SFRY ambassador to Portugal.